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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Moscow Civic Union Urges Economic Union

MK0107083093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jul 93 pp 1, 2

[Artemiy Moskvich report under the "Third Path?" rubric: "Nikolay Gonchar, Leader of Civic Union's Moscow Branch, Urges Referendum on Economic Union of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine"]

[Text] Moscow City Council Chairman Nikolay Gonchar put forward this idea of a "post-Soviet Maastricht" at the 29 June Political Council meeting of Civic Union's Moscow branch. Specifically, the proposal calls on the four former USSR republics simultaneously to hold, as early as possible in the fall, referendums on setting up an Economic Union based on the unequivocal recognition of the members' state sovereignty. The union will not have any political, military, or ideological nature.

The idea of creating such a union is not new, and has been present in all joint statements by the leaders of the former Soviet republics. Each announcement regarding economic integration, however, was inevitably followed by a deepening economic disintegration.

Spelling out his idea, Nikolay Gonchar pointed to its proximity to the ideas of Maastricht, which can be interpreted as a renunciation of any hidden imperial motives in this initiative of Russia.

One gets an impression that the reason for the current disintegration may be either the unwillingness of the incumbent leaders of the republics, or their inability to act without a clearly expressed will of the voters. Nikolay Gonchar said he presumes the second explanation was more realistic.

Specifically, the Economic Union is to include a common financial space (which does not rule out the existence of national currencies), a common customs space, and the creation of a single legal framework regulating the activity of multinational financial and industrial groups. To all appearances, this will require a joint legal tender modeled on the West European ECU [European Currency Unit], which does not preclude any of the national currencies from circulating.

Mr. Gonchar emphasized that his proposal was entirely market-oriented and, while not infringing on anyone's national or state ambitions, would make it possible to overcome the current deadlock in the most civilized and effective way. All four republics have legislation providing for the possibility of holding referendums.

In addition, it is these four republics, which have common borders, that presently are among the most stable ones both socially and politically. This will enable the voters, and not only the authorities, to express their attitude to the proposal.

The Political Council of Civic Union's Moscow branch supported the proposal and decided to submit it to the

organization's conference, scheduled for 8 July, for discussion. It was particularly stressed that this idea cannot be viewed as an election maneuver precisely because it is so important.

Civic Union's Moscow branch, which is on the right wing of the political spectrum, has so far demonstrated a stance independent from the Russian Civic Union, and has preferred not to accept decisions made by the leaders unless they are approved by the majority of the movement's members.

According to information available to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the leaders of Kazakhstan and Belarus are ready to make similar proposals. During the latest talks with Russia, the Kazakhstani leaders, for instance, got the impression that top Russian officials were trying to push Kazakhstan out from the common economic zone by any means. By all appearances, the Kazakhstani leaders are growing impatient with this tactic.

In Ukraine, the idea of a referendum may win the backing of the liberal, market-oriented circles, which, however, would never have accepted this proposal had it come from the communists. But Civic Union's Moscow branch is beyond suspicion in this regard for it was Moscow's sole democratic organization that firmly and unequivocally spoke up against any connivance at Anpilov's followers and even demanded that Anpilov be put on trial for his public pronouncements about the physical "liquidation" of political rivals, which he made at a rally in Moscow.

In Russia, Civic Union's Moscow branch evidently is counting on the support from the directors, who are now talking about setting up their own party, and also on the second-wave businessmen—that is to say, on those who have not linked themselves politically to the current authorities. They want to invest their capital in their country's economy, and not to hoard it in the West. They need political stability, however, which, via the setting up of the Economic Union, would be more attainable both in Ukraine and in Russia.

The question is how President Boris Yeltsin would react to the idea if it is supported by Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine. He may give no response at all, but, in this event, the idea will be snapped up by the parliament. Furthermore, a collection of signatures under the proposal to hold this referendum may be launched. It is clear that in this case the president will have to speak up, but the initiative will already be elsewhere.

Nikolay Gonchar is known for his extreme caution. He would have hardly dared to put forward this idea had he not secured the support from some formidable economic structures. More so because the first thing he will be accused of is, obviously, political ambitions on the eve of an election. Even if he does have these ambitions, the main thing is the reaction to the idea, and not to Nikolay Gonchar himself, by the leaders and political forces of the four republics. It is also clear that, although the idea

of holding this referendum looks more like a fantasy, its implementation would make it possible finally to dot the i's in the question regarding the so-called "common economic space."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 30 Jun

LD3006054593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0456
GMT 30 Jun 93

[“Press Review”—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—“President Clinton made a serious error. The missile strike against Baghdad was an unacceptable and dangerous action irrespective of motives by which one may try to justify it,” former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stated in an article written for the Italian newspaper LA STAMPA and reprinted by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on Wednesday.

“Even if the political leadership in Baghdad did plan to make an attempt on the life of U.S. ex-President George Bush—in that case a question of adequate measures of reaction to the terrorist plan arises—the U.S. still has no right to unilaterally assume all functions, those of investigator, prosecutor, a court and executor of a verdict”.

The former Soviet president condemned the Russian Government “whose hasty and unqualified approval of the bombing strike reflects an obliging and short-sighted desire to satisfy Washington’s momentary demands”.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports that “opposition parties and movements, which reject both the draft constitution version suggested by the president and the constitutional convention initiated by him, are busy working out their own projects for a future state set-up of Russia”.

The newspaper writes that “the patriots held a conference dealing with the forthcoming constitution reform”. “Representatives of patriotic parties and movements agreed to prepare a declaration of state principles of Russia, on the strength of which most patriotic parties and movements could unite and launch regular political consultations with a view to working out a unified position on major political issues”.

On the strength of this, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA draws the following conclusion: Such accords may result in “the organisational identification of an election bloc”.

PRAVDA continues to publish materials about corruption in the higher echelons of power. It writes that “the speech in parliament by Nikolay Makarov, first deputy prosecutor-general, would have been more convincing, if he had not only exposed instances of corruption made public by him but had also brought accusations against specific persons”. The newspaper devotes a whole page to articles on this subject by its correspondents abroad under the general headline “The Name of the Octopus is Corruption”.

TRUD carries a second article by its special correspondent in Georgia under the headline “A Man With a Rifle on Rustaveli Avenue”. Portraying an unattractive picture of the socio-economic ruin in that former soviet republic which has bogged down in an endless civil war, correspondent Viktor Badurkin tries to find an answer to such questions as to what funds people live on if most industrial enterprises are at a standstill, whence come the millions that are spent on the war in Abkhazia every day, and how do calls for the normalisation of economic and political relations combine in the minds of the powers-that-be with a massive pressure arranged by themselves on the remainder of Russian troops stationed in Georgia.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes that “Vologda region is busy adopting its own constitution”. The newspaper tries to understand the source of Vologda residents’ such gravitation to “sovereignty”. It sees the aspiration of people in the region, the territory of which is three times as large as that of Denmark, “to live independently with an increased sense of dignity and a desire to return to their own folk roots”.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) devotes a big article by its correspondents to the problem of the Russian-speaking population in immediate neighbour countries, in Estonia in particular, where an explosive situation has developed in view of the adoption of a foreigners act, which infringes on the rights of the Russians, by the country’s parliament.

The newspaper writes that “Russia will not leave its compatriots at the mercy of fate”. Russia has taken a number of diplomatic measures to draw the attention of the world community to the position of the Russians in Estonia.

President Mikhail Nikolayev of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya) examines in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA a new draft constitution which is being elaborated by the constitutional convention.

“Diehard unitarianism and disregard for the peoples of Russia constitute the entire essence of the suggested new draft constitution,” he maintains. Adducing a number of arguments in corroboration of his statement, Nikolayev concludes as follows: Such a fundamental law can put republics outside the federation.

Press Review for 1 Jul

LD0107061293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0504
GMT 1 Jul 93

[“Press Review”—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 1 TASS—Today’s central newspapers do not highlight some definite topic. The army daily “KRASNAYA ZVEZDA” carries on the front page an article under the headline “Finances Should be Stabilized, but not at the Expense of the Army’s Stability”, which deals with search for ways of fighting inflation and budget deficit. “Certainly, the current situation is so

complicated that the government may be only sympathized with", the article reads. "Reform is proceeding with great difficulty, and the financial crisis is undoubtedly one of the main factors putting in jeopardy the very possibility of implementing reforms. But one should remember that apart from the economic risk, there is also a political risk in carrying out large-scale transformations in the Russian state, and it cannot be disregarded", warns the newspaper.

The same daily publishes an interview by Major-General Valeriy Danilkin, head of the Central Research Institute of the Russian Defence Ministry, who says "the main energies and resources of Russian military chemists are directed at solving defence problems, namely the building of means of protection from nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons".

According to Danilkin, the institute researchers take part in ensuring the execution of the convention banning chemical weapons and, in compliance with a state order, carry out assessment of technologies, examine former sites of chemical weapons destruction and secure the safety of its storage.

The daily "PRAVDA" carries an interview by the director of the Russian Defence Ministry's Research Institute, People's Deputy of Russia Alexandr Gurov, who believes that "the state is incapable of ensuring the safety of business".

According to him, more than 3,500 crime groupings are presently operating in Russia, which delimitate the spheres of influence between themselves and struggle for their "vital interests related to the control of a certain business".

"The state did not get around to passing in proper time laws, which would prevent machinations in the economic sphere", Gurov says. In his opinion, Russia needs a legislation for market-oriented economy of a transition period. "Although governmental officials speak very much about a civilized market, in fact they do too little for its formation", he stresses. To his mind, the structures created for fighting organized crime do not work because of "demoralization resulted from deliberate decay of law-enforcement bodies".

The daily "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA" publishes a response by Russian Vice-President Alexandr Rutskoy to the deputy's inquiry about the dacha he is building in the Odintsovo district outside Moscow. According to Rutskoy, what he is building is not a dacha, but a house in which he is going to live permanently together with his family. The vice-president says he is rather in perplexity as for the deputies' information about the construction of a garage intended for four cars, a sauna, a swimming-pool and a self-contained boiler-house on this plot.

The youth daily "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" asserts that Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, a well-known economist and head of the Center for Economic and Political Research, announced during his trip to Tatarstan that he was going to run for the Russian presidency.

The "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" daily features Ukraine's response to the U.S. missile strike on Baghdad. "Against the background of the apparent turn of Kiev's foreign policy towards the United States, the only conclusion which may follow is that the course pursued by Ukraine is gradually shifting back towards Europe", the newspaper points out.

Yeltsin Concludes Visit to Greece, Signs Treaty**Holds News Conference With Mitsotakis**

LD3006143593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1233 GMT 30 Jun 93

[News conference by President Boris Yeltsin and Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis with unidentified correspondents in Athens on 30 June, moderated by unidentified speaker—recorded; Mitsotakis speaks in Greek with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Yeltsin] Greece is the home of democracy. Therefore, it is no coincidence that when I held talks yesterday with President Karamanlis and today with the prime minister, we again spoke about the future and problems of democracy in Russia, in Europe, and in the world. We agreed that in spite of the dramatic circumstances and the huge difficulties accompanying its development, democracy is the only form of social organization that is worthy of a free man and the only one with a future. Naturally, we discussed this in more detail with Prime Minister Mitsotakis. I informed the head of the Greek Government about how the process of democratizing Russia is going. I told him about the drafting of the new Russian constitution, the legal basis for Russia's revival, and its consolidation on the path of reform and democracy. Both the president and the prime minister expressed complete understanding and support for our efforts.

Our talks with the prime minister were specific and intense. We concentrated our attention on bilateral relations. On the one hand, we expressed satisfaction with the development of relations and, on the other, we felt that Russia and Greece have great resources for the development of cooperation. We attach special significance to the friendship and cooperation treaty that has just been signed. This provides a strong legal basis for our relations. The treaty stipulates that Russia and Greece are friendly states. On that basis we will develop our cooperation in all areas.

Twelve documents of various kinds were signed during the visit. They cover economic, industrial, scientific and technical cooperation, encouragement and reciprocal protection of capital investment, avoidance of double taxation, cultural and scientific cooperation, cooperation in the protection of cultural heritage, the use of Greek credit for refinancing the debts of Russian organizations, cooperation between archive services, cooperation in tourism, and a number of other areas. We agreed to do an inventory of existing agreements—of which there are about 30—and to bring them up to date. We also agreed to draft and sign a treaty on military-technical matters.

In view of the complex situation in Europe, we agreed to conduct a political dialogue at various levels. As far as the most acute question—the events in the Balkans and the crisis in Bosnia—is concerned, our positions coincide with each other. The president, the prime minister,

and I were in agreement on the need for a political settlement and for persistent, patient political work.

I informed the Greek leaders about our work to conclude a treaty on cooperation with the EC. I told them we would not agree to discrimination in trade and economic ties. I expressed hope that when Greece takes over the EC chairmanship in 1994, it will promote a solution to these problems. The president and prime minister displayed an understanding of this.

We sought and found a solution to two major projects: the supply of Russian gas to Greece and the construction of an alumina plant. At long last we have reached final agreement on these two problems.

Cooperation in maritime matters is very promising. The Russian Government recently adopted a program of revival of the Russian fleet. There is a need for the reconstruction of ports and for Russian shipyards to be made ready to receive orders. Greek businesses have been invited to take part in this. As I understand it, there is some interest and tomorrow morning there will be a meeting with business people.

We noted the considerable potential for developing trade. Currently our trade turnover is meager—350 million dollars. We agreed to develop ties between Greece and the Black Sea regions of Russia, Krasnodar and Stavropol, and reached an agreement on this.

The visit was targeted at specific, pragmatic results and its aim has been achieved. In addition to that, the atmosphere at our meetings and talks was very important. We were aware not only of a desire for fruitful work, but also of mutual empathy and friendliness. This is natural, as Russia and Greece are states that are spiritually, culturally, and historically close, and now common democratic values and ideals expressed by our peoples are added to the centuries' old traditions of friendship and cultural closeness.

We understand each other well, which is very important, and we will cooperate for the sake of the Russian and Greek peoples and for the sake of peace in the region and Europe. Thank you for your attention.

[Moderator] Mrs. (Agolopolou) from the First Channel of Greek Television.

[(Agolopolou), in Greek with superimposed translation into Russian] Two questions for Mr. Yeltsin. I would like to know whether you discussed the situation in the former Yugoslavia and what your conclusions were. I also address that question to the prime minister. And my second question to Mr. Yeltsin: How would you comment on, how would you describe, the actions by the Albanian regime against our Orthodox residents and against the inhabitants of the southern regions of Albania? In other words, the Greeks living in the southern regions of Albania?

[Yeltsin] I said in my introduction that we discussed the issue of the situation in Yugoslavia in detail, both

one-on-one and with the delegations, especially the situation in Bosnia and the instability that exists in the region in connection with it. We reached an understanding that the issue cannot be settled through means of force. Political dialogue is needed; talks are needed. The most recent idea that is now being discussed—about the creation of a confederation of three nationalities—is probably the most viable one, only we must all work on it, and that includes other countries such as the United States and the countries of Europe. Our standpoints on this are unanimous. With regard to the Albanian incidents, I can only condemn the actions of the Albanian leadership for such vandalism.

[Moderator] A question from the Mr. Iezuitov of Russian TV. Oh sorry, go ahead.

[Mitsotakis] Since the second question was addressed to me, I would like to add to what President Yeltsin has said that there is a joint Greek-Russian statement on former Yugoslavia, which is quite clear. Our viewpoints coincide in all aspects. We have agreed to make additional efforts at this point, when hope has appeared on the horizon that the talks conducted in Geneva under the two cochairmen, Lord Owen and Stoltenberg, may reach specific results on the basis of a confederation with three cantons. In this event, we ought to treat the Muslims fairly in terms of the territorial issue. There has been a lot of progress on that issue in Geneva, so there is hope. Our countries, which can play a certain part, will do the best they can.

[Moderator] Russian TV, Mr. Iezuitov, go ahead.

[Iezuitov] Boris Nikolayevich, what are your main impressions—I mean personal impressions—from the meetings with the top Greek leadership, and what are you going home with? I mean specific results, and when will they start working? Is there a mutual readiness to put them in practice as soon as possible?

[Yeltsin] My personal impressions are good. It is not our first meeting with Mr. Mitsotakis. It is our third meeting at the official level. Therefore, we already know each other, we find each other's style agreeable, both in conversation and, most important of all, in actions. This is why we were quite quick today in solving all the issues on our agenda. We even finished 20 minutes earlier than scheduled.

What is Russia to expect from this? All the documents signed, all the agreements and statements, work both for Greece and for Russia. There are no unilateral benefits of some kind. We have a problem with gas sales. Therefore the decision reached so quickly to supply gas to Greece—and Greece does need gas, both as fuel and for ecological reasons, to make the environment cleaner—this agreement was signed today. This means that it becomes effective tomorrow and all those concerned, particularly our gas production association, have to start work immediately—the same goes for the (Depa) firm on the Greek side.

As for alumina producing works, we have so far had to import alumina. And if Russia could supply gas to Greece, while Greece supplied Russia with alumina, that would benefit both Greece and Russia. And of course we considered other questions.

[(Tyaoz), in Greek with superimposed translation into Russian] My name is (Tyaoz). I want to ask President Yeltsin why you have supported U.S. President Clinton's attack on Baghdad—an attack that resulted in casualties? I would also like to ask Prime Minister Mitsotakis the position taken by the Greek side regarding the attack on Baghdad. While one of you have supported it, the other one expressed understanding.

[Yeltsin] As far as Russia is concerned, you have misunderstood. The statement did not mention the word support. If you know the word used in the statement, then surely you should ask your question using that very word.

[(Tyaoz)] So what was the word then?

[Yeltsin] If you ask me that then you do not really know what the statement said. And yet you dare ask the question.

[Mitsotakis] As for Greece, I would simply like to say that Greece is conducting the same policy in relation to every terrorist act, and within the framework of this policy we can also understand that certain necessary actions could be taken, as has been the case with the latest U.S. initiative in Iraq.

[Moderator] Please go ahead, the question from [name indistinct].

[Correspondent] The history of democracy in ancient Greece and Rome shows that democratic regimes can sometimes be replaced by the worst forms of tyranny. Does the new democratic Russia face a similar threat?

[Yeltsin] Such a threat does not face me. I hope that this will continue to be the case after I have gone.

[Moderator] Mr. Yalos.

[Yalos] I would like to hear the Russian president's answer to this question because his handling of this issue, the recognition of Skopje, has upset the Greeks. I would like to find out whether you and Konstandinos Mitsotakis discussed the issue facing the Security Council. Would you agree to accept the initiative under which the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia would agree to be called Slav Macedonia? Did you discuss this subject with Mr. Mitsotakis?

[Yeltsin] We have discussed this subject. We go by the formulation that exists in the United Nations.

[Moderator] As I understand it, the previous question overlapped with two questions by Russian correspondents, that is why I will give the floor to Kononenko of IZVESTIYA.

[Kononenko] Boris Nikolayevich, you have just mentioned in your statement the fact that a treaty on military and technical cooperation with Greece is under way. In this respect, I would like you and Prime Minister Mitsotakis to clarify which interests are being pursued here and what this document may represent? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] I must say, to begin with, that by now we have already signed agreements in the military and technical field with a number of countries. Greece is a country we are friendly with, according to the treaty signed today as well as with tradition and the essence of things—a friendly country. That is why armies should also be friends with each other. When armies are friends, cannons are silent. This will be the guideline for our agreement in the military and technical field.

[Mitsotakis] I would like to add a few things: Greece has also signed a similar treaty with almost all neighboring countries. We regard this as a necessary and needed addition to the political agreement on friendship and cooperation.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, this may seem weird, but the word NATO has not been mentioned a single time today—as if it did not exist. However, Greece is a member of NATO. Does it mean that this reflects our attitude, as it were, to that alliance? How do you see Russia, Greece, and NATO in general? Should they cooperate further? What is your view?

[Yeltsin] Well, there is still a long way to coordination with NATO. It is different if we are talking about political coordination; that happens even now. However, we are still far from military coordination. In fact, we have to have military and technical agreements with all NATO countries. This could take a year, or two, or three, or even five. [words indistinct]

[Correspondent] Many foreign leaders are worried a war may erupt in the Balkans. Does Mr. Yeltsin share this concern, and which countries, do you think, may become involved in a Balkans war?

[Yeltsin] I understand there can be a danger of war, and this is why I said to the prime minister, and to the president yesterday, that if someone insists on using force, on lifting the weapons embargo, we will exercise our right to veto in the Security Council in order to prevent this.

[Terekhov] Vyacheslav Terekhov, INTERFAX. Boris Nikolayevich, the situation in our country is a little bit better than it was before the constitutional conference. Tell me, for you, as president on your first foreign trip after the constitutional conference, to what degree is it difficult or easy for you, as a president, to conduct talks and represent such an important country as Russia against such a background?

[Yeltsin] You are right, of course. Having an old constitution, it is very hard to persuade friends, comrades, or partners that this country is a democratic one, because

the constitution itself does not show it. This is why we have to draft a new constitution, which I think has already been generally agreed upon. The constitutional conference has practically prepared a draft of a single constitution. At present, some amendments are being worked on, and on 12 July the draft constitution will be studied at the next meeting of the constitutional conference. I certainly feel the support of many political parties, public organizations, movements, and people's deputies, and I think we are on the right path because the constitution that we are going to adopt reflects the most contemporary principles of democracy that exist all over the world, including the birthplace of democracy, Greece.

[Zitsis, in Greek with superimposed translation into Russian] Mr. Zitsis from the Athens news agency. A question for Mr. Yeltsin. We know the way things are now; both the southern regions of the former USSR and the Balkans are threatened with an increase in Moslems. What is your assessment of this matter—on the Moslem expansion in southern Russia and in the Balkans?

[Yeltsin] We have discussed this very topic. I do not think, however, that it would be ethical to talk about any specific issues.

[Moderator] A question from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, could you please [words indistinct]. Did you discuss with the prime minister the issue of the need to increase the Russian forces [word indistinct] in Yugoslavia?

[Yeltsin] No. We discussed purely political issues, purely Russia's political influence. The military aspect was not discussed.

[Golotos, in Greek with superimposed translation into Russian] Mr. Golotos from the newspaper ETNOS. Mr. Yeltsin, about Yugoslavia. We can see that Russia is not undertaking any specific initiative on Yugoslavia; somehow it just does not dare take such a step. Is this indicative of an absence of strategy or of disagreement with the role that the United States is playing in the region? And Mr. Mitsotakis, have you taken any specific initiative on the Yugoslav problem?

[Yeltsin] I do not agree with that accusation against Russia. Russia is constantly tackling the problem of Yugoslavia—constantly. It has a different viewpoint from the United States and it is pursuing this line. It is good that the viewpoints of Greece and Russia coincide. That makes it easier for us to work.

[Mitsotakis] As you know, we are constantly dealing with this issue, because we have a direct interest. We have played and will continue to play a role, and we believe that in cooperation with the Russian side we can be more (?successful) in our attempts to find a peaceful settlement because only a peaceful settlement is acceptable.

Let me reiterate that in the present phase there is hope and Greece will not cease rendering assistance.

[Moderator] A question from one of the youngest Russian papers, SEGODNYA.

[Unidentified Correspondent] [question indistinct]

[Yeltsin] We discussed the Pontic Greeks, of whom there are 92,000 officially registered in our country, from the viewpoint that, as long as we treat them properly and provide them with the necessary conditions, they can be a bridge of friendship between Greece and Russia. There was no question of them being moved and this was not discussed.

[Correspondent, in Greek with superimposed translation into Russian] In parallel with the war in Yugoslavia, there have been concrete movements on the part of particular states that have been of an expansionist nature and aimed at changing borders. I am speaking specifically of Albania, which is all but demanding independence for Kosovo. What is the position of the Russian Government in relation to such theoretical prospective changes of present borders, and what is your government's view of the quite concrete expansionist way Skopje is eyeing Greece's northern territories?

[Yeltsin] Borders should not be changed. That is that.

Wants Economic Cooperation

LD3006120493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Report from Athens by correspondent Yevgeniy Zherbenkov]

[Text] This is probably the central, most packed day in the program for Boris Yeltsin's visit to Greece. Russian-Greek talks were held today and culminated in the signing of a major treaty on friendship and cooperation, the first in the history of relations between Russia and Greece, as well as a number of intergovernmental agreements which will make it possible to reactivate the commercial and economic turnover between our countries, which has declined visibly of late.

Greece is a fairly interesting economic partner for us. There are a whole range of areas in which our cooperation could develop much more successfully. Among other things, the possibility of involving Greek ship-owners, who have immense experience and a very big fleet, in implementing a program of reviving the Russian merchant fleet was discussed. Establishing closer commercial and economic ties on a regional level with the Russian Black Sea zone was also mentioned. Setting up direct contacts between enterprises and companies in our countries will clearly be facilitated by cooperation within the framework of Black Sea economic cooperation. This could provide wider opportunities for attracting Greek capital investment in Russia's Black Sea areas.

There is another area of considerable importance for potential cooperation: the military. Greek is showing an interest in the output of our military factories. Russia is also interested in restoring the volume of its arms sales, which has fallen considerably recently. As yet, our cooperation with Greece in this field is behind cooperation with other countries.

As Boris Yeltsin noted at a news conference which has only just finished, the talks were successful and full mutual understanding and accord were achieved on the issues discussed. This was facilitated to a considerable extent by the proximity of our countries' political positions, which is reflected particularly in our approaches to settling the Yugoslav conflict. Both Russia and Greece, being concerned about the situation in the Balkans, are proceeding on the basis of the need for political settlement of this conflict. The community of the positions of our countries on the Yugoslav issue was affirmed in a joint statement on the outcome of the talks.

Threatens Veto of UN Vote To Lift Bosnian Arms Ban

LD3006140393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1325 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Malysh, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Viktor Khrekov]

[Excerpts] Athens, 30 Jun—Russia attaches particular importance to the treaty on friendship and cooperation signed in Athens today; it forms a powerful legal foundation for our relations. This was stated by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who is here on an official visit, at a news conference. [passage omitted]

There were a number of questions about the Balkans. Yeltsin conceded that the threat of a Balkan war exists, and so if anyone insists on strong-arm methods, or lifting the embargo on arms supplies, then we will use our right of veto in the Security Council. We are constantly engaged with the problems of a settlement in the former Yugoslavia, and we have a different point of view than the United States, he said. But the viewpoints of Moscow and Athens coincide, he added. [passage omitted]

Joint Statement on Yugoslavia Adopted

LD3006132393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1232 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS Special correspondents Vladimir Malysh, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Viktor Khrekov]

[Text] Athens, 30 Jun—Russia and Greece are urging all conflicting sides to stop military actions to ensure the success of the talks, because any settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina will have an undoubted positive effect on other problems that must be solved in the former Yugoslavia. This is stated in a joint Russian-Greek

declaration signed at the end of talks conducted within the framework of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Greece.

Russia and Greece support the efforts of the cochairmen of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia and express their readiness to assist the peacemaking process in search of a solution to the Bosnian crisis, in accordance with international decisions. Both countries are urging the Balkan states to refrain from becoming involved in the conflict on the side of any of its participants, underlining that this could lead to a new spiral of tension and kindling of nationalist passions.

The sides have agreed to hold regular political consultations about the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and the situation in the Balkans, including discussions of the idea to set up a representative conference of the Balkan states on regional security and cooperation. The plan proposes that UN representatives, permanent members of the UN Security Council, as well as EC and other international bodies' representatives take part in this conference.

Speaks at Acropolis Ceremony

LD3006170093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1350 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Malyshev, Gennadiy Talalayev and Viktor Khrekov]

[Excerpt] Athens, 30 Jun—[passage omitted] Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Konstandinos Mitsotakis, and a delegation of Greek parliamentarians took part in the symbolic ceremony on the Acropolis this morning.

Addressing the President of Russia, K. Mitsotakis stated that it is a great honor for the Greeks to receive you in this sacred place where democratic transformations and reforms started, by which principles the guests from democratic Russia are guided to this day. The Greek people, he said, are following the course of democratic transformations in Russia with satisfaction. They understand better than anyone else those difficulties that you are encountering in this great work.

Ascending the improvised rostrum, B. Yeltsin said with emotion: "Today I take the second oath as president. The first time, two years ago, in Moscow, and now on the sacred Greek soil where democracy was born 2,500 years ago."

Here, he went on to say, mankind found a means of building a strong state for the first time not at the expense of the enslavement of man, but on the basis of freedom, his rights, and his dignity. It is well known from the history of Greece, Russia, and other countries that the path to democracy was not strewn with roses. Throughout the ages dictators and tyrants have appeared among different peoples. But at the same time there are few ideas that possess such vital force. The idea of

democracy has persisted. It sent out deep roots into the consciousness of peoples on all continents.

The new Russia, B. Yeltsin noted, has firmly embarked on the path of genuinely democratic development. We have suffered colossal political, economic, and cultural losses owing to the fact that democracy was a captive of totalitarianism for a long time. We paid a high price for our freedom, and, believe me, we will never part with it again. The Russian people confirmed this again at the referendum of 25 April. They gave a vote of confidence to the president, and voted for the continuation of our difficult reforms. The new constitution, work on which is being carried out at the present time within the framework of the constitutional conference, is called on to consolidate the democratic gains. [passage omitted]

Itinerary of Final Day

LD3006215393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2050 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Malyshev, Gennadiy Talalayev and Viktor Khrekov]

[Excerpt] Athens, 1 Jul—Today is the last day of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Greece. In the morning he will meet with Greek entrepreneurs and there will be speeches analyzing the state of Greek-Russian economic and trade links. A speech in reply by B. Yeltsin is also expected. A meeting is planned with the leader of the major opposition party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Pasek), Andreas Papandreou. The Russian president will make a farewell visit with his wife to Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis. In the afternoon B. Yeltsin will fly to Moscow. [passage omitted]

Addresses Greek Businessmen

LD0107121393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0855 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Malyshev, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Viktor Khrekov]

[Text] Athens, 1 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—We have passed the peak of the economic crisis, Russian society has survived the test. In the last nine months there have been steady signs of economic stabilization. President Boris Yeltsin of Russia said this when addressing a meeting with Greek business people here today.

The meeting was organized by the Athens Chamber of Trade and Industry on the occasion of the first official visit by the Russian head of state in the history of relations between the two countries.

The cream of Greek business people assembled at the meeting: the biggest shipowners, industrialists, and business people, who have close economic and commercial ties with Russia.

Russia's strategic course, B. Yeltsin noted, is to expand economic ties and integrate Russia into the world market

and the import of capital. The Russian market is huge, and those who conquer it stand to gain a great deal. This year we are stabilizing the economy, and next year it will be difficult to penetrate the Russian market. At the same time, we believe that integrating Russia into the world market should not be done in a confrontational way.

The Russian president pointed out that commercial and economic cooperation between the two countries was considerably behind the level of political relations. The documents, friendship, and cooperation treaty and many agreements signed during the visit were intended to create the conditions for active expansion of cooperation among business circles. The Russian side is ready to decide on the protection of property, copyrights, patents, trademarks, and so on. We can see prospects for the development of cooperation among shipowners, in agriculture, and telecommunications.

The president put forward the suggestion that mutual settlements be paid not in dollars, as at present, but in national currencies at their quoted rates on the currency markets. In this way, he pointed out, we would be able to help each other, particularly at the moment, when things are hard for Russia.

B.Yeltsin said: As the Greek proverb goes, "an hour can sometimes be more productive than a year," expressing hope that this meeting will lay the foundation for the successful development of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The Greek businessmen received the Russian president's suggestion with great interest. We have been cooperating successfully and for a long time with Russia, Fivos Khristodhoulithis, head of the Lada-Hellas company, told ITAR-TASS. It has become even clearer to us following this meeting that our business with your country has a great future.

The huge Russian market, the program for the revival of the Russian fleet, and the agreements signed during the visit are opening up colossal new opportunities, said Giorgios Khasapothimos, director of the Transorient company and a number of joint enterprises with Russia. We are "maritime neighbors" and therefore should cooperate as closely as possible, he said.

Seen Off by Mitsotakis

LD0107115693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Malysh, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Viktor Khrekov]

[Text] Athens, 1 Jul—Russia's President Boris Yeltsin left Athens today for Moscow. He has been in Greece on an official visit, the first in the history of relations between Greece and Russia. The president was seen off at the airport by Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis and other officials.

Text of Treaty Given

LD3006163993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1035 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic,

on the basis of a tradition of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples over many centuries;

recognizing the significance of the deep historical changes which have taken place on the continent of Europe;

striving to make a contribution to the building of democracy, peace and unity in Europe;

expressing firm devotion to the priority of common human values, the supremacy of the law, respect for human rights, freedom of choice and noninterference in internal affairs, peaceful settlement of disputes and provision for the stability and security of all states, guided by the objectives and principles of the UN Charter and reaffirming their compliance with the implementation of the articles of the Final Act of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Paris Charter for a new Europe and other documents of the CSCE;

firmly resolved to actively develop their relations in the political, trade and economic, cultural, scientific, and other spheres, and to deepen mutual understanding and trust, and attaching key significance to democratic and economic freedoms as an integral precondition to economic and social progress;

acknowledging the importance of ensuring ecological safety and the need for joint actions in protecting the environment;

being convinced that an enhancement of the quality of relations between Russia and Greece is in line with the fundamental interests of their peoples and, in equal measure, the interests of consolidating peace and cooperation in Europe, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic consider each other as friendly states. They confirm their determination and desire to actively and consistently reinforce mutual trust and to develop relations of cooperation in all areas, based on the principles of respect for political independence, sovereign equality, territorial integrity, nonintervention in internal affairs and mutual benefits.

Article 2

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will sustain a regular dialogue on the level of highest state

leadership and hold consultations between representatives of state power and management bodies.

The subject of such consultations will be the development of bilateral relations, strengthening of security and cooperation in the world and in Europe, including the Mediterranean, the Black Sea region, and the Balkans, as well as any other question of mutual interest.

Particular attention will be paid to strengthening contacts and widening links between the parliaments and other elected power bodies of the two countries.

Russia and Greece will establish the essential conditions for a broad exchange of experience and information between representatives of their governments, the appropriate ministries and departments, and other bodies of state.

Meetings at the foreign ministry level will be held no less than once a year.

Article 3

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic confirm their devotion to the inviolability of existing and generally recognized borders and the territorial integrity of all the states of Europe.

Article 4

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic undertake to settle any disputes which may arise between them exclusively by peaceful means, and in such a way as not to pose any threat to international peace and security.

Article 5

In the event of a situation arising which in the opinion of one of the sides poses a threat to peace, disrupts stability or gives rise to dangerous international complications, both sides will begin mutual consultations without delay in order jointly to seek a way to settle the situation. This refers, in particular, to instances where armed attacks are carried out on one or both of the sides, or the appearance of a threat of such an attack.

In the event that one of the sides should become the object of aggression, the other side, without prejudice to its duties under current treaties or the relations which derive from them, will not offer any military assistance or other cooperation to the aggressor.

Article 6

In order to maintain and strengthen universal peace, the Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will do everything possible to prevent any armed conflict in which nuclear or conventional weapons may be used and they will actively contribute to the process of nuclear and conventional disarmament.

The sides believe that the reduction of armed forces and arms up to levels which are enough for defense will lead

to strengthening security and stability of all countries. They will cooperate in setting up the system of the all-European security and in strengthening trust and cooperation.

Article 7

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will undertake joint efforts to increase the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the future. They will cooperate to achieve the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts, to strengthen international peace, security and stability, and to fulfill decisions of the United Nations.

The sides will closely cooperate within the framework of other international organizations in which they are participating as well as at multilateral conferences and forums to contribute actively to construction of peaceful and solidary Europe, to help developing the relations of openness, trust, and mutual understanding between states and to stimulate international cooperation in all spheres.

Article 8

On the basis of such common values as peace, the supremacy of law, respect for human rights, political pluralism, justice, and freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic are expressing their willingness to take definite steps in the building of single European spaces, such as an economic, legal, social, cultural, technological, ecological, transportation, or any other space, thus facilitating the convergence of European nations.

The sides give the upmost importance to further development and institutionalization of the all-European process, and note the special role of the CSCE in the task of ensuring stability and security on the continent. They are jointly proposing to endow the CSCE with effective mechanisms and procedures to avert interstate and interethnic conflicts, including the use of the human dimension mechanism in cases of breaches of human rights, including the rights of people belonging to national minorities.

Article 9

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic believe that the development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans serves to strengthen mutual understanding, trust and security in the region and in Europe.

The sides will use their existing capabilities in order to ensure that conflicts in this region of Europe are settled exclusively through peaceful means on the basis of international laws with the use of mechanisms stipulated by the UN Charter, and structures created within the framework of the CSCE.

The sides favor interaction between the states of the Black Sea basin and the Balkan states, bearing in mind the similarity of their history, cultural traditions, trade

and economic, and other interests, and the unity of the eco- and hydro-systems of the Black and the Mediterranean Seas.

Article 10

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will increase efforts aimed at strengthening peace, stability, security, mutual understanding, and cooperation in the Mediterranean region, as well as a peaceful settlement of disputed matters, and providing assistance to their ability in resolving the most pressing socioeconomic and ecological problems in the region.

Article 11

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will assist each other in developing cooperation with European organizations, institutions, and associations when one of the sides is participating in the activities of these and when the other side shows the appropriate interest.

The sides agreed that the development of relations between Russia and the EC will also serve to strengthen relations between Greece and Russia. The Hellenic Republic will make all possible efforts to assist the further development and intensification of relations between the Russian Federation and the EC and, after the transformation of the latter into a European union, between the Russian Federation and the European union.

Article 12

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will develop and expand mutually beneficial economic and scientific and technical cooperation in order to create the most favourable conditions to ensure stable economic growth, satisfy their people's needs, and efficiently use material and financial resources. The sides will ensure the required legal, economic, financial, and commercial conditions for close business interaction, scientific and technical cooperation, and any entrepreneurial activity on the basis of the principles of market economy. They will promote the initiatives of immediate producers, state and non-state organizations and other participants interested in economic cooperation.

The sides will ensure protection for mutual investments and encourage projects of bilateral and multilateral joint capital investments and will make efforts to find sources for financing these projects on conditions most favorable from the point of view of their respective legislations. Also, they will encourage cooperation in the sphere of training specialists in economic areas which are of particular interest to the sides.

Article 13

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will, in line with bilateral and multilateral agreements strive, using advanced technologies, to expand their transport communications and also to cooperate in developing communication facilities.

Article 14

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will, for the purpose of expanding and improving cooperation in the sphere of science and technology, encourage the creation of scientific-technical associations and joint research collectives and the implementation of joint projects, development, and research. They will promote the involvement of Russian and Greek organizations in multilateral scientific and technological cooperation programs.

For the purpose of assisting the exchange of know-how and technologies, Russia and Greece will facilitate the development of scientific exchanges including highly qualified scientists and young researchers.

Article 15

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic are stepping up joint efforts with regard to protecting the environment at an international, regional and local level. They will pay special attention to protecting the environment and promoting ecological balance in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions within the framework of multilateral cooperation.

The sides will assist each other as far as they can in the event of natural disasters, major ecological catastrophes and technical accidents.

Article 16

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic confirm their endeavor to develop and intensify links in the areas of culture, art, education, information, and sports. They will do everything to promote a broadening of cultural exchanges between the two countries and to familiarize each other with the cultural and historical heritage of their peoples and their achievements in culture today.

The sides intend to encourage cooperation in preserving historical and artistic and cultural monuments.

The sides will use all possible means to promote broad access to both countries' culture, encourage direct cooperation between cultural establishments, creative organizations, research centers, higher and secondary educational establishments as well as between culture, science, and education figures.

They will take measures aimed at creating favorable conditions for teaching the Russian language in Greece and the Greek language in Russia. For this purpose the sides will reciprocally provide possibilities of training and retraining teachers as well as exchanging modern textbooks for schools and other educational establishments.

The citizens of Greek nationality residing in the Russian Federation will be provided with possibilities of developing their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural originality. People of Greek nationality and other emigrants from

Russia who settle legally in Greece and acquire Greek citizenship will be granted the right to freely practice their ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions.

Article 17

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will support and promote contacts between citizens of the two countries in the spirit of mutual understanding and friendship, respect for traditions, and religious or other customs of the two nations.

The sides will facilitate the development of cooperation between political parties, funds, trade unions, educational institutions, religious organizations and social bodies, friendship organizations, women's, youth, sports, ecological, and other social bodies, as well as mass media.

Article 18

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will, as far as possible, take measures to mutually simplify visa requirements and improve consular services for the citizens of both countries, in particular for citizens of Greek ethnic origin residing in the Russian Federation and wishing to permanently settle in Greece.

Russia and Greece will ensure normal working conditions and provide mutual all-around assistance to diplomatic, consular, trade, or any other official representations accredited on each other's territory. The relevant bodies of both sides will ensure that businessmen, journalists, as well as experts participating in joint projects are provided with normal working and living conditions.

Article 19

The competent bodies of the Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will interact on bilateral and multilateral basis in the task of combating organized crime, terrorism, unlawful acts against the security of civil aviation and marine shipping lines, illegal drug trafficking and contraband, including unlawful transport through borders of objects of cultural value and animals and plants under the threat of extinction, as well as their derivatives.

Article 20

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will maintain regular military contacts. Meetings will be held to discuss questions of mutual interest with the aim of developing mutual understanding and of strengthening trust between the representatives of the armed forces of both sides.

Article 21

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic will conclude agreements on separate areas of cooperation so that the clauses of this treaty may be implemented more fully.

The sides will develop and perfect the treaty and legal foundation of their relations on the basis that the Russian Federation is the continuation, as a state, of the USSR.

Article 22

The Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic state that the present treaty is not directed against anyone whomsoever.

The present treaty does not affect rights and commitments under existing treaties and agreements concluded by the Russian Federation and the Hellenic Republic with other states and international organizations.

Article 23

The present treaty is subject to ratification and will come into force on the day that articles of ratification are exchanged.

The present treaty is concluded for a term of 20 years. Its operation will afterwards be automatically extended for ensuing five-year periods, unless one of the sides gives written notification a year prior to the expiry of the relevant term of its intention to end the operation of the treaty.

[Dated] Concluded in Athens on 30 June 1993 in two copies, each in Russian and Greek, with both texts having identical force.

[Signed] For the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin

For the Hellenic Republic, Konstandinos Mitsotakis

Reports, Criticism of U.S. Bombing of Iraq Continue

Communist Parties Condemn Strike

PM3006110793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Communists Warn of Danger"]

[Text] The funeral of the victims of the barbaric missile strike delivered by the U.S. military against the peaceful city has been held in Baghdad. We express sincere sympathy and condolence to the relatives and friends of the deceased, the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Party Presidium declares.

The present U.S. Administration is consistently implementing its predecessors' policy aimed at intimidating and physically annihilating everyone it dislikes. While accusing Iraq of conspiracies, the United States itself declares open season on political leaders and heads of state and government of foreign states with the aim of physically annihilating them.

For the umpteenth time the Russian leadership has hastened to justify the vandalism of its American friends, forgetting that tens and hundreds of Russian

servicemen are dying outside Russia while millions of its citizens are deprived of elementary political and civil rights. It is naive to suppose that the U.S. Administration will support Russian diplomacy's modest efforts to protect our citizens' lives and rights with similar zeal to the Russian leadership.

The USSR's communists, a statement by the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU Council Political Executive Committee received by the editorial office says, believe that the issue today is not Iraq, not farfetched retaliatory measures to a nonexistent assassination attempt on U.S. President G. Bush. This is primarily a demonstration by the United States of its omnipotence and impunity in the world arena. A new repartition of the world began with the Soviet Union's departure from that arena. This is nothing other than implementation of the geopolitical schemes and geostrategic interests of the so-called "Big Seven" countries. The interethnic conflicts and civil wars on the territory of the USSR and the events in Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Iraq are all links in the same chain.

It is not impossible that the Pentagon is already carrying out command staff exercises on large-scale maps of the USSR.

Public Movements Censure Strike

PM0107084393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 93
p 3

["Own information" report under "Strike on Baghdad: World Reaction" rubric and general heading: "...Meanwhile, in Moscow"]

[Text] The Russian Society for Solidarity and Cooperation with the Peoples of Asia and Africa [RSSCPAA] believes that the missile strike inflicted on Baghdad by the Pentagon, whatever arguments are used to justify it, is a further manifestation of attempts to resort to force during conflict situations, ignoring the existing international mechanisms of political decisions, an RSSCPAA statement reads.

A statement by the Peace and Accord Federation says that the U.S. Administration claims that the missile strike on Baghdad is in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter and is a punitive action in revenge for the Iraqi secret services' plans to organize an attempt on the life of Former U.S. President Bush.

As an international peacemaking organization, the Peace and Accord Federation rejects in principle such justification for that inhuman military action.

We representatives of the "Peace Today" Russian public committee, its statement reads, give the Iraqi people a firm assurance that the position of the official authorities does not reflect the sentiments in our society. The deaths of totally innocent peaceful citizens of Iraq has caused pain in the hearts of millions of Russians.

PRAVDA Says Iraqi Embassy's Phone Lines Cut

PM3006105793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 7

["Own Information" report: "Why Were the Iraqi Embassy's Phones Out?"]

[Text] We spent half of Monday 28 June trying to contact the Republic of Iraq's Embassy in Moscow to obtain additional information about the missile strike on Baghdad. We were unable to get through. When we called the diplomats' home numbers we were politely told: "He's at work. Please call him at the embassy." When, with great difficulty some time after 1600 hours, we managed to get through to the subscriber and complained that we had been unable to talk with them earlier. The embassy staffers told us: "The phones have been out all day." "Did you disconnect them yourselves or was the line down?" "No. We did not disconnect them. Why should we? But someone certainly did. They are back in operation now."

The conversation was cut off in midstream. The "busy" tone sounded in the handset. We managed to get through again only in the evening. So who was it disconnected the embassy's phones and why? Perhaps the officials responsible for this will explain what happened?

Iraq Statement Details Civilian Casualties

PM0107090993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 93
p 3

["Own information" report under "Strike on Baghdad: World Reaction" rubric and general heading: "...Meanwhile, in Moscow"]

[Text] We reported yesterday how it had been impossible to contact the Iraqi Embassy by telephone Monday. According to Iraqi diplomats, their telephones were not working all day. The same strange business was repeated the next day. The duty officer at the Russian Federation Security Ministry's Public Liaison Center told the editorial office Tuesday that their department has nothing to do with this strange business.

It was probably because of the bad communications that we were unable to receive in time by fax from the embassy the statement by the Revolution Command Council of the Republic of Iraq. It got through to us in the end, albeit very belatedly.

It states that the United States has committed another perfidious and base act of aggression against Iraq. U.S. forces subjected the Iraqi intelligence headquarters and the surrounding Baghdad residential districts of Mansur and Ma'mun to a cruise missile attack. As a result of the act of aggression, a number of citizens, including women and children, in apartment blocks next to the headquarters died or received injuries, and residential and civilian structures suffered considerable damage.

Khabarovsk Communists Criticize U.S.

OW0107123493 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk
Network in Russian 0845 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From the "Kray News" program]

[Text] The United States missile attack on Baghdad did not receive the same assessment everywhere in the world. As we already know, the Russian Government supported this U.S. action; however, the committees of the Khabarovsk Kray and Khabarovsk City Communist Party of the Russian Federation have reacted very negatively.

In articles for the media they write: We are revolted by this unprecedented act of vandalism and trampling by the United States and its allies on all of society's democratic standards, expressed in the shelling of Baghdad, as well as the human sacrifices. Similar storm trooper and terrorist acts are only possible by maintaining indivisible U.S. hegemony in the world community.

Missile Technology Proliferation Spat Halts Premier's Visit

PM3006132193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in
Russian 30 Jun 93 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "What Is Hindering Viktor Chernomyrdin's U.S. Visit"]

[Text] According to information from the U.S. State Department, the reason for the indefinite postponement of the U.S. visit of Viktor Chernomyrdin, premier of the Russian Government, is the fact that the problem of the sale of rocket engines to India has not been settled. In the U.S. side's opinion, this deal violates the missile technology control regime, and Russia, although it is not a party to the corresponding agreement, has pledged to abide by the provisions of the "dual-purpose" technologies nonproliferation regime.

A high-ranking State Department staffer has reported in Washington that one of the main purposes of Chernomyrdin's visit is to discuss the prospects for cooperation in the sphere of space technologies. The Americans refuse, however, to conduct talks on this subject until the question of deliveries of rocket engines to India by the Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research with the participation of "a number of privatized enterprises" in Russia has been "settled." The United States has already announced sanctions against the two countries' firms involved, and the new action attests to the buildup of pressure on Russia with a view to making it cancel the deal.

Commentary on U.S. Opposition to Arms Deal

LD3006143093 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1110 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Announcer-read Aleksey Kondratyev commentary]

[Text] [Unidentified Announcer] Talks have resumed in Washington about economic sanctions against Russia, if Moscow strikes a deal on deliveries to India of cryogenic rocket engines. Commentary is by Aleksey Kondratyev, and this is what he writes:

The dispute started last year, but despite Washington's pressure, Russia and India signed an agreement to deliver engines for Indian rockets used for outer space exploration. In February the two countries agreed to organize technical teams which would deliver Russian engines to India.

Significantly, Moscow and New Delhi have been cooperating for over 20 years in peaceful outer space exploration. But could the Russian-Indian deal be the subject of concern in terms of the nonproliferation of nuclear arms and rocket technology? Here's the view of the Director of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy:

[Yastrzhembskiy, in Russian fading to English report] Russia is interested in the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and rocket technology more than other members of the nuclear club. We understand the United States concern over the concrete Russian-Indian deal, though we believe the concern is excessive.

Russia repeatedly proposed to put the deal under international investigation, since it's sure the deal meets the parameters used for the nonproliferation of nuclear technology for military purposes. Washington, however, has a different approach to the deal and threatens with broad sanctions against Russia and India.

Understandably the stand has a negative effect on both countries. The influential newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES says that Washington's threat is vivid ignorance of Russia's and India's interests.

Is there a way out of the situation? It seems to be in the unbiased appreciation of the Russian-Indian agreement. Of course there's need for such solutions that would not jeopardize the interests of either side. Otherwise the Russian public would certainly consider Washington's statement as an attempt to restrict Russia's position as an exporter of high tech products.

India considers Washington's demarche as an attempt to deprive the country to acquire up to date technology to be used for outer space research.

U.S. Seen Denying Access to Space Markets

MK3006122693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 3

[Natalya Kalashnikova report: "United States Blocks Russia's Access to Arms Market. Washington Imposes Sanctions on Russian Missile Technology Exporters"]

[Excerpts] Early this week Moscow encountered new problems in relations with its Western trade partners—the United States announced it was imposing sanctions on a number of Russian firms specializing in space technologies. Washington claims that Moscow is violating the missile technology control regime by proceeding to comply with the terms and conditions of its transaction with India on cryogenic booster deliveries. This unresolved problem has already caused the cancellation of Viktor Chernomyrdin's U.S. visit. Yesterday, Foreign Economic Relations Minister Sergey Glazyev left for Washington to resume consultations. In experts' view, the crux of the differences is the United States' unwillingness to give Russia access to the world arms and science-intensive technologies markets, including that of commercial space launches. The imposition of sanctions was not the first such case—Russia encounters problems whenever it has a chance to overtake American competitors. [passage omitted]

State Space Committee officials believe that a cancellation of the transaction, on which the United States insist—without taking into account two cryogenic blocks already delivered to India, which account for 3 to 5 percent of the contract—would mean Russia's total submission to American interests in terms of space cooperation with third countries. In addition, if the Indian deal is canceled after India paid some part of the contract, it will not only entail a \$400 million loss, but also negatively affect Moscow's relations with Delhi and significantly undermine Russia's reputation on the science-intensive technologies market—the more so because the countries of the Middle East and Southeast Asia are the main importers of Russian weapons. The Indian Armed Forces, in particular, weapons are 85 to 90 percent Russian.

Some Russian experts are certain that if Russia bows to pressure and tears up its contract with India, the project may be snapped up by the United States itself. An indirect proof of Washington's concern over competition from Russia on the world arms market can be found in the United States' insistence that Russia's access to the use of space technologies for commercial purposes be made dependent on the Indian deal. So far, officials in Washington are only willing to allow Moscow to take part in an international tender for 12 space launches, which by no means promises Russia guaranteed participation in the projects. Washington expressed sufficiently clearly its displeasure with Russian sales of fighters, rocket launchers, rocket fuel, and other rocket equipment to China, Libya, and Iran. [passage omitted]

Technically, the U.S. sanctions have been imposed until the problem of "Russia's deviation from the Vancouver agreements" is resolved. Maybe Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton will be able to find a solution during their meeting in Tokyo, which will be held after the G-7 summit—provided the Russian president accepts the invitation to attend the meeting. And if Glazyev manages to make progress on the problem during the current visit.

Yastrzhembskiy Affirms Adherence to Nuclear Test Moratorium

LD0107115093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Russia will not be the first nuclear power to stop complying with the moratorium on nuclear tests. Although China has not undertaken the obligations of the moratorium, Moscow will not renounce it as long as France, the United States, and Britain do the same. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said this in an interview for the INTERFAX agency. In his words, the very fact that four of the five nuclear powers are adhering to the nuclear test moratorium is unprecedented and has undoubtedly gained broad support throughout the world.

Parliament Votes To Impose Sanctions on Estonia

LD0107121293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1201 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 1 TASS—The Russian Parliament instructed the Government on Thursday to carry out measures of political, economic and other influence on Estonia, including full suspension of Russian troops' withdrawal before appropriate agreements are signed.

After examining the issue of human rights violations in Estonia earlier in the day, which adopted "the Law on Foreigners" downgrading Russian-speaking residents to a position of second-rate citizens, the Russian Parliament, in fact, unanimously voted for a decision instructing the Cabinet to impose sanctions on that country.

The document approved by 160 votes to two abstentions at a joint sitting of the Council of the Republic and the Council of Nationalities, gives several instructions to the Government.

Apart from the above measures, the Government was instructed to draft within a month and to submit to the Russian Parliament a programme for protecting interests and supporting ethnic Russians living outside Russia.

It was made incumbent on the Cabinet to inform urgently the United Nations, the Conference on Security

and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe of Estonia's discriminatory policies against ethnic minorities living on its territory.

The Russian legislature also suggested that the Russian and Estonian Parliaments should hold consultations in the near future on the legislative implementation of the treaty on the principles of interstate relations between Russia and Estonia of January 12, 1991 concerning the provision of all the people living in Estonia with equal civil and political rights and freedoms, social, economic and cultural rights and guarantees of acquisition of citizenship in accordance with people's free will.

Consultations are to be held at the level of the Russian and Estonian parliamentary leadership.

Parliament will seek to put the issue of human rights violation and discrimination against ethnic minorities in Estonia on the agenda of international parliamentary organisations. The Russian Parliament will insist that the Interparliamentary Association of the Commonwealth of Independent States should discuss these problems as top priority matters.

The legislature proposed that Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov air the Russian Parliament's position on this issue over television.

Charge of Provoking Conflict Denied

PM3006101393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 1

[Article by Valeriy Gromak and Sergey Knyazkov: "Russia Will Not Leave Its Countrymen to the Whim of Fate"]

[Text] Russia has taken a number of diplomatic measures to draw the world community's attention to the position of Russians in Estonia—a position which has been exacerbated following the adoption of the law "On Foreigners."

Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, has sent a special message to Council of Europe Secretary General Catherine Lalumiere. At the same time, Moscow has appealed to the Council of the Baltic Sea States' "troika" (Finland, Estonia, and Poland) to convene an extraordinary session of the Council at foreign minister level in the very near future to examine the problems of the position of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia. Consultations have also been held with Western partners—specifically, the United States.

Aleksey Glukhov, the Russian Foreign Ministry's special envoy, has been paying a brief visit to Tallinn over the past few days. During his mission he met with Estonian President Lennart Meri and gave Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste a special message from Andrey Kozyrev that was couched in relatively tough terms.

"The Estonian authorities themselves feel uncomfortable about the situation—for which they are to blame—and are trying to defuse the tension and demonstrate that measures are being taken to that end," Aleksey Glukhov said, commenting on the results of his trip. At a press conference, he categorically rejected the claims by Estonian and some foreign politicians that Russia is trying to provoke a conflict in Estonia. "Provoking such a conflict would be suicidal for Russia, since nationalist forces would direct any attempt against Russia and its democratic leadership," Aleksey Glukhov said.

I should note that the attempts to accuse Russia of provoking a conflict in Estonia are without foundation against the backdrop of the continuing malicious statements from certain Estonian politicians that have been broadcast nationwide. Speaking in a TV debate Monday evening, Estonian State Assembly Deputy Juri Toomepuu [surname as transliterated], a retired U.S. Army colonel, stated that it is far more important "not to create conditions for the nonnative population to integrate into Estonian society, but to give every settler from the period of occupation the chance to go back home." "If only half of the 500,000 foreigners who currently live here were to return to the land of their fathers," Toomepuu went on to explain, "there would be a chance that Estonians could be masters in their own country."

Tunne Kelam, deputy speaker of the Estonian parliament, pinned the blame for the crisis in the republic's social life on the opposition, "which first kicked up a fuss about the law 'On Foreigners' when it was still a draft." In his opinion, representatives of the centrist faction in the State Council have arbitrarily substituted terms and presented parliament's legitimate desire to decolonize the republic as an ethnic purge of Estonia's Russian-speaking community.

Quite honestly, I can see absolutely no fundamental difference between the "parliament's desire to decolonize the republic" and the "ethnic purge" being contemplated in Estonia. In both cases it is aimed against the Russians. And it is entirely obvious why the 28 June session of the city soviet in the "Russian" city of Narva adopted a statement addressed to the president, prime minister, and Estonian State Council pinning responsibility on them for the consequences of the "unsanctioned actions of the people of Narva in protecting their vital interests." The session adopted a decision to hold a referendum in the city 16-17 July, when the people of Narva would answer the question, "Do you want Narva to have the status of a national-territorial autonomous area within the Estonian Republic?" The referendum results will be summed up at a session no later than 23 July 1993. If the response is positive, local soviet elections in Narva can be held on the basis of equal electoral rights for both citizens and noncitizens.

The resolute actions of Moscow and the people of Narva helped, as KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported (29 June), to encourage Estonian President Lennart Meri to refer the law "On Foreigners" for expert review by the

Council of Europe, which the republic will join as of mid-May 1993. And the Estonian head of state has decided that the law will not be ratified until the results of the review are obtained.

To all appearances, Russia was initially satisfied with what had been achieved. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev assessed President Meri's latest decision as a "hopeful sign" in the policy of some of the Estonian leadership. Moreover, on Friday the two countries' social welfare ministers signed an interstate treaty of cooperation in the sphere of pension provision. The treaty, unfortunately, does not apply to our military pensioners.

Nonetheless, the tough line on Estonia shown by Russia over the past few days could be a kind of model for its relations with Latvia, where an essentially similar law—"On Citizenship"—is in the pipeline. That is why it was no accident that ITAR-TASS and RIA disseminated the Russian president's appeal to the Latvian Human Rights Committee 28 June. In it, Boris Yeltsin gave an assurance that "protection of the legitimate rights and interests of Russians in Latvia—as in other countries—will continue to be a priority avenue of Russian policy."

Leningrad Region Criticizes Law

LD3006121193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0955
GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] St. Petersburg June 30 TASS—In a statement to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, Chairman of the Leningrad Regional Council Vadim Gustov and head of the Leningrad Region administration Aleksandr Belyakov have expressed concern over the development of events in Estonia as a result of the law on foreigners recently adopted by this Baltic state's parliament.

The adoption of the law on foreigners by the Estonian Parliament is the natural result of the practice of ethnic discrimination against the Russian-speaking population in the republic. The regional council and the administration of the Leningrad Region consider that the president and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation should take "all possible measures to have the law revoked" as stipulated by international law.

The Leningrad Region borders on Estonia. Two neighbouring cities—Estonian Narva and Russian Ivangorod are divided by a river, but they are united in their wish to live on the border between two friendly states and not in the zone of border armed conflict. Maintaining social, economic and political stability in the Leningrad Region, especially in areas bordering Estonia, depends on the general character of Russo-Estonian relations, the principle position of Russia and its firmness in relations towards civil rights of Russian citizens, the statement said.

Estonian Leaders 'Sober Up'

PM3006104993 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in
Russian 29 Jun 93 p 3

[Sergey Knyazkov report under the "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Law 'On Foreigners' Submitted for Expert Analysis—Estonia Seeks a Way Out of the Crisis Situation"]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel (Reserve) Albert Tyagushkin telephoned the editorial office from the city of Voru in the Estonian Republic yesterday. He made no requests—he simply imparted the concerns of a Russian Armed Forces pensioner living in Estonia. The Law "On Foreigners" which has been adopted has rendered him and thousands of others of our compatriots on that republic's territory Estonian society's misfits, second class people...

After acquainting ourselves with the text of a tough statement on this score by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, which expounds Russia's readiness to take "all necessary measures to protect its national interests and shield the Russian-speaking population from political, social, and police tyranny," KRSNAYA ZVEZDA informed its readers 26 June that Russia no longer intends to tolerate the humiliation of Russians in Estonia. At midday 26 June the reduction of natural gas supplies from Russia to Estonia began. Calculated on a daily basis, supplies were cut by roughly 50 percent. "However," Bogdan Budeulyak, member of the "Gazprom" Joint Stock Company board, stressed, "unless a reaction is forthcoming from the Estonian Government in connection with Estonia's enormous debt outstanding to 'Gazprom,' we will be forced to halt gas supplies altogether."

Estonia followed with an immediate reaction to Russia's resolute actions. "I was surprised by the tone of the statement which Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin addressed to Estonia," Republic Prime Minister Mart Laar told a RIA correspondent. Furthermore, he made the point that the Law "On Foreigners" "mentions that no non-citizens will be deported, their property will be protected by the Constitution, and nobody will be deprived of their right to participate in privatization."

There can only be surprise at the prime minister's one-sided interpretation of the law. He would do well to put himself in the shoes of a Russian forced henceforth to live in Estonia under blatant police surveillance in anticipation of the day when the authorities get it into their heads to deprive him of his residence permit for some reason or other and evict him from his own apartment! After this, what will be interesting is just how Estonia, in Mart Laar's words, "is prepared to have good relations with Russia..."

No, Russia is not joking this time, indeed it would not befit a great power to behave that way with a neighbor so carried away with its own nationalism... And it looks as if Estonia's political circles are starting to sober up. As

Aleksey Semenov, member of the Russian-speaking representative assembly leadership and cochairman of the Russian Democratic Movement of Estonia, announced, the Law "On Foreigners" adopted by the Estonian parliament was submitted by the Estonian Republic Presidium to the Council of Europe for expert analysis Friday. "If its results are negative, then, as Prime Minister Mart Laar noted in a conversation with us, the republic government will be prepared to send the law to the State Assembly for amendment, so that it can make radical changes to it," Aleksey Semenov stressed.

According to his information, on the initiative of the republic government a joint consultative organ will be created based on the assembly. However, these measures have done nothing to improve the situation for Russians, and people in Narva are inclined to fight with more resolute methods. A city soviet session now in progress could declare a general strike. In response, a two-day extraordinary session of the Estonian Republic parliament began work yesterday in Tallinn, at which the possibility of creating cultural autonomy for the republic's Russian-speaking population is being examined.

More on Rutskey Cable on Black Sea Fleet Division

PM0107111393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Unattributed report: "Fleet Appeals to Russia"]

[Text] Yesterday our newspaper carried reports on the decision of the officers' assembly of the Black Sea Fleet staff to hoist the historic St. Andrew's Flag on all ships and vessels of the fleet on 1 July and on its appeal to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to take the Black Sea Fleet under Russian jurisdiction without delay.

We have received the "Appeal to the Citizens of Russia" adopted at the general assembly of the Black Sea Fleet Air Force, which notes that Russia's supreme leadership, instead of acknowledging its foreign policy mistakes regarding, among other things, the status of Sevastopol and the whole of the Crimea, is continuing to consciously surrender its positions. The time spent on procrastination and listening to statements has been wasted forever. In this catastrophic situation, the air force officers, who no longer have faith in the promises of the presidents, have been forced to appeal to the peoples of Russia and to all patriotic forces: The Black Sea Fleet and our motherland's southern borders are in danger!

The statements of the naval seamen and airmen have found a response among the people of Sevastopol.

"Despite the attempts to do a backstage deal which would condemn the Black Sea Fleet to degradation and effective destruction, there is a growing will on the part of Russian Black Sea sailors and all true patriots of Russia to avert this national and historical tragedy and preserve the Black Sea Fleet and its main military base—Sevastopol. I support the appeal of the officers'

assembly of the Black Sea Fleet staff on hoisting Russia's St. Andrew's Flag on all ships and vessels of the Black Sea Fleet on 1 July."

These words come from the government telegram of Aleksandr Rutskey, which the Russian vice president sent to Nikolay Bagrov, chairman of the Republic of Crimea Supreme Soviet; Yuriy Meshkov, chairman of the "'Krym' Republican Movement" public organization; Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet; and to the admirals, officers, petty officers, and seamen of the Black Sea Fleet, and the citizens of the Republic of Crimea.

The telegram notes that the politicized separation of Crimea from Russia that is being imposed and the destruction of the Black Sea Fleet cannot be tolerated, nor can the confrontation and fueling of tension between fraternal peoples—Slavs in faith, spirit, and blood.

Vice President Aleksandr Rutskey urged the Black Sea sailors and all Crimeans to do everything possible to preserve the united fleet protecting our fatherland and the fraternity of the peoples of Russia, Ukraine, and Crimea.

Delegation Ready for Talks With Ukraine

MK3006114493 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 5

[Viktor Mironov article: "Moscow and Kiev: Marriage of Convenience"]

[Text] Even if it has not achieved stability in bilateral relations, the Russian-Ukrainian summit in Zavidovo defused the emotional tensions that had built up between the countries of late. The chief outcome of the negotiating process is perhaps the fact that the policy of cooperation is making steady headway despite everything. The thing is that the idea—MOSCOW AND KIEV: A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE—has always been true.

At long last, a Ukrainian state delegation for talks with the Russian Federation has been formed, which will undoubtedly make for easier and more active work on a fundamental political treaty between the countries.

The Russian Federation state delegation for talks with Ukraine was formed one year ago in June. This representative team is granted wide powers and is made up of diplomats, lawyers, economic experts, and specialists from various interested agencies. The Russian delegation is led by Ambassador at Large Yuriy Vladimirovich Dubinin, a seasoned diplomat. Assessing the present state of bilateral relations, he underscores that it is very important to give the Russian and Ukrainian deputies a chance to find their bearings in the present situation and approve the prepared draft agreements in a calm atmosphere. These are primarily treaties on dual citizenship and legal assistance, on no-visa entry to Ukraine for

Russian citizens and to Russia for Ukrainian citizens, as well as on cooperation in ensuring the rights of ethnic and religious minorities.

In the cultural field, the Russian side sees its task in providing the peoples of both countries, in the shortest time possible, with the broadest possible opportunities for communication.

Being aware of the complexity and emotional tinge of the problems faced, Yuriy Vladimirovich still thinks that the work on the document on the whole avoided dead ends. In his opinion, there are no questions that do not lend themselves to solution. It is this optimistic principle that guides the efforts of the Russian delegation who have become convinced that a positive policy line toward Ukraine is in Russia's interests. This policy already brings us weighty political dividends.

What next? Ambassador Dubinin maintains that finalizing the contractual and legal basis for bilateral relations would require intense work together with the Ukrainian counterparts. Also ahead is the fine-tuning of positions and the search for acceptable solutions in such important matters as dividing the funds provided by Germany to finance the withdrawal of our troops from that country, the realization of the START I Treaty, the Lisbon package of agreements, the rules for maintaining and using missile attack alert equipment, and the idea for a Russia-Azerbaijan-Ukraine-West Europe oil pipeline project. An exchange of views will continue aimed at reaching compromise agreements on the nuclear disarmament problem, which is special in that it is part of the international global policy and takes center stage in the eyes of the world public. It would be wrong to pressure Ukraine to reach a solution, but any attempts by Kiev to take a special stance on this matter will undoubtedly cause a well-grounded concern both in Russia and other major world powers. Other priority problems to be tackled by the state delegations of both countries will be, as before, the package of sore problems pertaining to the status of Sevastopol, the Black Sea Fleet, and Crimea as a whole. The Russian team's approach in this matter takes account, among other things, of the human factor, because interests of the fleet's personnel, real live people and their families, come foremost.

Thus, the reference points of the negotiating process have been determined, the subjects for discussion have been selected, and both sides are obviously ready and eager to continue the dialogue. The ball is now in the court of the Supreme Soviets of Russia and Ukraine.

Chernomyrdin, Kuchma Visit Rostov Combine Plant

PM3006152993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 1

[Correspondent Marlen Kryukov report: "Are We Going To Be Using Sickles? Russian-Ukrainian Assault on 'Rostselmash'"]

[Text] The "landing force" arrived in two aircraft. The first, preparatory group landed at Rostov airfield during the afternoon. The two prime ministers—Russian and Ukrainian—were expected to arrive two or three hours later. This was a trip with a purpose. To a single destination—"Rostselmash." The preparatory group was supposed to have several documents ready for their arrival. Yu. Peskov, general director of the "Rostselmash" Joint-Stock Company, reported the situation to the group. "It is now 1545 hours," he said, "and not a single combine has rolled off the plant's production lines."

In order to get "Rostselmash" back on its feet it is necessary to regulate financial settlements between the two republics. The preparatory commission untangled this complex knot. There is mutual interest in this. Later it would be said at the conference that Ukraine is not intending to develop its own combine. It is relying on the "Don." This is practically a Russian-Ukrainian combine. Ukraine is the supplier of the majority of components.

"It is not for nothing that Ukrainian specialists have come here," V. Chernomyrdin said at the conference. "The level of supply of combines is falling sharply because of our disarray."

The prime minister spoke of the steps that must be taken to ensure that agricultural machine building emerges from the crisis and successfully assimilates the market. A committee for agricultural machine building is being set up. As for "Rostselmash," it will receive a credit of 20 billion rubles.

L. Kuchma made a comment in Ukrainian: "That's enough nonsense, guys, we must get down to work."

The visitors left Rostov late in the evening. It is good when people find a common language. But I could not escape another feeling: What a mess they have made of our economy.

Discuss Fate of Cruiser Varyag

PM0107110193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Varyag Preparing for Government Battles"]

[Text] A Russian Government session devoted to just one subject—the fate of the heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser Varyag—is planned for early July. This problem was discussed in Kharkov by Russian and Ukrainian Premiers Viktor Chernomyrdin and Leonid Kuchma.

As we know, the Varyag was launched five years ago at the Black Sea Yard in Nikolayev 70-percent complete (naval seamen claim) and has been mothballed at the enterprise's dock, taking up more than 300 meters of space. In the opinion of the same military men, the Nikolayev workers have been taking very good care of the unfinished vessel.

It is hooked up to power and water supplies from the shore, and in winter steam is provided for heating. A special subunit mounts watch alongside it around the clock. The shipbuilders tour all its compartments and quarters—there are more than 2,500 of them—several times a day, monitor its safekeeping in terms of explosion and fire precautions and its watertightness, stop any outsiders from gaining access to the cruiser, and prevent equipment from being stolen.

This work, in addition to payment for energy resources, is costing the plant 75,000 karbovantsy a day. The depreciation of the berth, which cannot be used for another ship, also needs to be taken into account. All these costs are currently being borne by Ukraine.

Russia has not paid it a kopek since January 1992. A total of 410 million rubles [R] at 1991 prices has been spent on the cruiser, and another R265 million would have had to be spent to complete the work. But this sum has now grown to R100 billion.

That is how much the Russian Government will have to find to ensure that the ship bearing this legendary name can enter service. Where will that money come from? This is probably the main question which the government will be discussing.

Rear Admiral Vladimir Tolstykh, deputy chief of the Russian Navy Shipbuilding Administration, told me that this sum would be needed not immediately but over the course of the six or seven years that it would take to complete the cruiser.

Navy people claim that the ship need only weigh anchor—90 percent of the turbines and the engine room are in fact installed—and be provided with navigation and communications equipment for the Varyag to sail under its own steam for completion at a plant in the Baltic or the north, where the supply of components from Russian plants would be guaranteed. All the equipment has already been prepared for it. But first—and this is the most important thing—the cruiser has to be delivered to a dry dock before winter for urgent anticorrosion work on its hull.

Money is needed not only for this work. It is also needed to compensate the plant for its current expenditure and to pay Ukraine once again for the full value of the ship—since Ukraine's leadership considers it to be that state's property.

The sailors have prepared several options for solving the problem for the Russian Government to look at. One of these is to propose that the Ukrainian Government offset the value of the Varyag against its billions in debts for energy resources, which Ukraine is hardly likely to be able to pay in the near future. Admittedly, in this instance, the Nikolayev yard would receive virtually nothing, and unless it has a financial interest the deal will fall through.

It is possible to reach agreement with Ukraine and the Nikolayev workers on completing the cruiser Varyag. The cost of this would be far less than the cost of moving it and completing it at another yard. And, finally, the third option is to conclude a contract with Ukraine on continuing the construction of these complex ships under orders from Russia at the neighboring state's unique base.

There are no docks in any other CIS city but Nikolayev where a ship such as an aircraft carrier could be laid down or built. And the Black Sea workers themselves would find it extremely unprofitable to use their unique production capacity to build tankers, which may be considerably less expensive than warships but do not require such highly skilled workers and engineering cadres—a work force that has been built up here over a long period and is now without work and leaving the yard.

In conclusion here are some figures—the United States has 16 aircraft carriers (of which six are nuclear-powered), Britain has three, and France has two (plus one nuclear-powered carrier—the Charles de Gaulle—undergoing sea trials, and another under construction). There are similar ships in Italy, Spain, Argentina, India... Whether Russia will have any is for its government to decide.

Ukrainian Officials Envision Losses From Agreements With Russia

MK3006104493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No.27, 4 Jul 93 (signed to press 29 June) p A10

[Sergey Tikhii report: "From the Position of a Lack of Strength"]

[Excerpts] An expression on the Ukrainian prime minister's face during the press conference on the results of the Russian-Ukrainian talks at the level of heads of government betrayed his bitterness about the outcome. In his conversations with the journalists, however, Leonid Kuchma insistently kept talking about "cautious optimism." In his view, no better result could have been achieved under the circumstances. The declaration of a moratorium on raising prices of energy resources will enable Ukraine to stabilize the situation. By the time oil and gas prices reach the world level, Kiev will be able to buy the minimally required quantity of energy resources. [passage omitted]

An even gloomier mood reigns among mid-level officials at Ukrainian ministries. They think that by far not all problems have been resolved, and the agreements signed are not beneficial to Ukraine. What is meant in the first place is the abolition of fees for the transit of export goods. Ukraine ships only 6 percent of its exports via Russia, while Ukrainian transportation facilities haul 80 percent of Russian exports. This will translate for Ukraine into an annual loss of \$104 million.

As for the free trade agreement, Russia, according to a number of experts, will thereby get indisputable advantages. On the one hand, it will be able to import without hindrance the products of Ukrainian enterprises it lacks. On the other, from the point of view of competition, the Ukrainian producer can no longer rival his Russian counterpart. His production will be certainly more expensive, but not so much better as to compete with similar Russian goods. This imbalance is inevitable given the karbovanets' low exchange rate against the ruble and differences in energy prices. At the same time, Russia reserved the right to issue licenses and to impose quotas on a number of export goods from a special list (a total of 450 items, including oil, gas, and diamonds). It has been rumored in Ukrainian Government circles that a group of Russian experts estimated Ukraine's losses from such a free trade at \$1.2 billion.

What will Ukraine get in exchange for this? A 250 billion ruble credit with interest payable and an extra 2.6 million tonnes of oil in addition to the current 20 million. This quantity will help it fulfill the minimum requirements of Ukraine oil refineries by nearly one-half and will account for one-third of their total output. [passage omitted]

Belarusian Gas Supplies Threatened

LD3006123893 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1135 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Pavel Gordeyev]

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—Following the disruption of gas supplies to its Baltic debtors Russia threatened to resort to similar measures against Belarus which owes it 76 billion roubles.

Sources in the Russian "Gazprom" company told TASS that the first day of talks on the debt held in Minsk ended in failure and Russia will wait for three more days. If no compromise is reached the gas supplies will be stopped.

Government Grants Credit to Belarus

LD3006131793 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1228 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—Russia agreed to grant Belarus a 70-billion dollar [currency as received] credit in the second half of the year and signed three agreements with the former Soviet republic which both sides qualified as a step towards an economic union within the CIS.

The agreements signed on Wednesday by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and his Belarusian counterpart Vyacheslav Kebich concern mutual obligations in connection with the use of the Russian rouble as a

legal payment instrument in Belarus, an intergovernmental credit for trade and economic relations in 1992 and in the first half of 1993 and an intergovernmental credit for 1993.

Kebich told reporters after the meeting that the "talks were important not only because of the signed agreements, but mostly because of mutual understanding". He added that the negotiations also focused on the creation of joint ventures and the Belarusian participation in developing the Russian oil industry.

"The most important (result) is that we have arrived to a conclusion that it is necessary to urgently sign a treaty on an economic union between Russia and Belarus, but without ruining the CIS. This should be done in the framework of the Commonwealth", Kebich said.

Chernomyrdin added that the two countries decided to initiate the creation of the economic union on a bilateral basis as the document on the creation of the same union in the CIS is "prepared slowly and with difficulties and we are again losing time".

The creation of the bilateral union "is very important for the peoples of both countries and our enterprises", he added.

Foreign Ministry Announces Cease-Fire Accord in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD3006185593 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1509 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jun—The Russian Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department announced today that with the help of the Russian Foreign Ministry an accord was drawn up a few days ago after negotiations as a provisional measure between the military leadership of Azerbaijan and the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh on the halting of offensive operations and the artillery and rocket bombardments and aerial bomb raids in the Mardakert-Agdere and Agdam Rayons, where fierce fighting had been taking place the previous day. A similar accord had been drawn up earlier regarding a cessation of the shelling of the towns of Agdam and Stepanakert-Khankendi.

For the most part the accords reached are being observed. Over the past few days there have been isolated reciprocal protests by the sides over violations, which have been considered by the sides and discussed with the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The military commands of the sides state that over the past few days there has been a marked reduction of the general intensity of combat actions and also the use of heavy armaments in the aforementioned rayons.

The sides confirmed their adherence to the commitments they have assumed and intend to create more favorable conditions for the speediest possible implementation of the plan proposed by the CSCE's Minsk

group and adopted by all the sides involved in the conflict for carrying out UN Security Council Resolution 822 of 30 April 1993.

Afghan, Iranian Asylum-Seekers at Swedish Embassy

LD3006203793 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 2000 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Thirteen people have entrenched themselves at the Visa Department of the Swedish embassy in Moscow. The occupiers are from Afghanistan and Iran and they want to seek asylum in Sweden. Three people discontinued the occupation after a few hours after they understood that it was impossible to seek asylum through the Swedish embassy. Four adults and six children currently remain in the embassy.

Mitterrand Interviewed on Aid to Russia

LD0107092293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0858 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris July 1 TASS—Commenting on France's approach to aid to Russia, French President Francois Mitterrand stressed in an interview with the Japanese NHK TV company and the Japanese Asahi newspaper, which was circulated here on Thursday, that Paris is waiting for a considerable contribution to this aid, above all, from the United States and Japan.

"When Japan and the United States take considerable additional efforts in this respect, I'll continue this conversation," the French president noted.

Asked about a possible resumption of nuclear tests by France which observes, along with the U.S. and Russia, the moratorium for over a year, Mitterrand noted that his country's position in this sphere will depend, above all, on actions by other nuclear powers.

"France will evidently resume tests and improve its defence potential if others do the same," the president stressed.

Deputy Premier Lobov Arrives in Germany for Talks

LD3006122293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1128 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn June 30 TASS—First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation Oleg Lobov, who is also the country's economics minister, arrived in Germany today, where he will take part in a meeting of the consultative council for economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between Russia and Germany, which will begin on July 2 in Berlin.

While in Bonn, Lobov is expected to meet German Federal Economics Minister Guenther Rexrodt and Chairman of the German Eastern Economic Committee Wolf von Ammerongen.

Oleg Lobov will visit two major concerns—Veba and Babkok—for talks with their leaders on specific aspects of cooperation between Russian and German enterprises and firms.

G-7 Demands on Russian Policies Could 'Spoil' Atmosphere

PM3006154193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko report under "Echo of the Day" rubric: "Aid Should Not Be Used To 'Extort' Confessions"]

[Text] The meeting of leaders of the seven Western industrially developed countries due to be held 7-9 June with the participation of the Russian president is moving to the fore in world events. Bill Clinton himself devoted much time to this topic in a telephone conversation with Boris Yeltsin on 28 June. The U.S. President said, in particular, that he expects a "solid package of assistance" for the implementation of Russia's reforms to be approved in Tokyo. The head of the U.S. Administration also spoke about the G-7's efforts to elaborate "a program to support the process of democratic reforms and the development of free markets in Russia." Moreover, the United States itself intends to make a major contribution to this project: A U.S. aid package is already being discussed in the U.S. Congress.

The governments of the FRG, Britain, Canada, and France have adopted similar decisions....

But, as often happens, there is a fly in the ointment. "The possibility has increased that certain areas of Russian Federation foreign policy will come under discussion at the forthcoming meeting," Japan's ASAHI writes. Enlarging on this idea, ASAHI reports that representatives of the seven leading Western countries have allegedly agreed to adhere to a principled position in accordance with which they will call on Russia to participate energetically and constructively in maintaining order in the world community. After preliminary consultations it has been decided to extend discussion of the international situation to questions touching on Moscow's external and internal policy, including the problem of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Especially in the present conditions, where measures to settle the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina have reached deadlock, it is possible that the countries of the West [Zapada] and North America will deliver corresponding reprimands against Russia.

Articles of this kind, are, unfortunately, not isolated. The world press, including the G-7 countries, often carries demands that the conference in Tokyo be used as a tribune from which to voice grievances against Russia,

which, it is believed, harbors sympathies for the Serbs. It is also proposed to make the granting of credits to Moscow conditional on a softening of its stance on the problem of the southern Kurils.

Of course, we have no reasons to suspect insincerity on the part of Russia's partners in the forthcoming talks. Especially since even the Japanese government, judging by the statements of officials, does not intend to raise the question of the "northern territories."

All the same, one does not want even petty unpleasantnesses, like the fly in the ointment, to spoil the good atmosphere that has arisen in recent times between the leading Western countries and democratic Russia.

Commentary Criticizes CPC on Anniversary

*OW0107045793 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin
1000 GMT 30 Jun 93*

[Mulatov commentary; from the "Half an Hour With Wang Xiao" program—first graf is introduction; last graf is announcer's statement]

[Text] The CPC is now marking its 72d founding anniversary. It has been generally believed that the CPC was founded on 1 July 1921. Speaking at a meeting to mark this day, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and president of the PRC, declared that the Chinese people, totalling more than 1.1 billion, are united as one, and that the formation of a market economy unprecedented in world history rests totally with the CPC. The Chinese leader called grasping the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics one of the most important tasks of the party. In this connection, station observer Mulatov writes:

While exercising its leadership over China, the CPC has had its historic successes as well as failures. The CPC has been a ruling party for 44 years. During this period, it has never permitted people to openly oppose its political policies, no matter what those policies actually were. During this period of over 40 years in which it monopolized political power, the CPC has on more than one occasion changed its basic political policies as well as the ideological and propagandistic support for these policies. This can be observed from the documents of all the CPC national congresses held in the PRC, beginning with the Eighth CPC National Congress held in 1956 to the 14th CPC National Congress held last fall. The CPC's current policy of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and establishing a socialist market economy unprecedented in world history has completely and absolutely repudiated the basic policy of carrying out the Cultural Revolution many times—a policy declared at the 9th, 10th and 11th CPC congresses.

Marshal Peng Dehuai, who died from persecution during the Cultural Revolution, once said in his last years: History is most inexorable. We must admit that this has been explained by the fact that the CPC has taught itself to use such inexorability quite skillfully to absolve its

greatest pains in history, including Mao Zedong's model for development, which has virtually been eliminated from the CPC's ideological and political arsenal, and has been replaced with a diametrically different ideology of reform.

The successes which the CPC has achieved in the economic sector are undebatable. In China today, nobody feels embarrassed by the fact that, hidden behind the formula of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, is a process during which China is going through the transitional stage of adopting a market economic model characterized by private ownership. What type of model will that be? Taiwan, Japanese, or Korean? Experts of models are still debating this issue but there is no way out for regimented socialism. The most serious issue remaining is that fundamental economic reform must be supplemented by the restructuring of the entire political system. Incidentally, this task was put forward by the Eighth CPC National Congress. The issue is that the CPC itself must be restructured in a practical manner, and not in a manner of eliminating people.

There is not yet an answer to the question of whether the CPC will become a different party.

The arguments in the commentary above reflect Mulatov's personal views.

Slovakia May Ask for Arms Deliveries To Settle Debt

*PM3006141393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30
Jun 93 First Edition p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Meciar Suggests Moscow Pay in Weapons"]

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has announced that his government is not ruling out the possibility that Russia will pay off its debts with Slovakia in weapons rather than foreign currency.

Russia's debt to Slovakia stands at \$1.5 billion. Meciar, speaking to journalists, stated that his country might follow Hungary's example and propose that the debt be paid off in weapons and military hardware.

Expert Claims Arms Sales Will Not Increase

*PM0107113993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in
Russian 30 Jun 93 First Edition p 4*

[INTERFAX/INTERSEPT report under the general heading: "Arms"]

[Text] In the past few years Russia has been exporting arms worth \$2-3 billion a year, a figure which is not going to increase in the immediate future, according to an expert of the Interdepartmental Commission for Military-Technical Cooperation between Russia and Foreign Countries.

The expert said that Russia has stopped supplying arms to the members of the former Warsaw Pact because the former allies have no hard currency, which Russia is demanding for military output. Supplies to developing countries have ceased for the same reason.

Danger of Bacteriological Weapons Detailed

PM0107093793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2105 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Report by Aleksandr Novikov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The 26 June edition of IZVESTIYA carries an article under the headline "The Plague and the Bomb." The newspaper raises the question of the development of military bacteriological programs in Russia and the United States. It appears that, despite everything, such programs exist. If we are to believe the article, the 1972 Convention lacks a precise quantitative criterion. Even Kissinger himself noted that the Convention did not preclude research into offensive substances, because this was necessary for the precise definition of defensive measures. True, it is difficult to defend yourself if you do not know your enemy. However, the borderline between defense and attack is so fine that it can be interpreted in all sorts of ways.

In the light of the nuclear threat, the problem of bacteriological warfare has receded into the background, as it were. But, as we know, these weapons have been described as the "poor man's atomic bomb." That is to say, they can be produced even in Third World countries. According to IZVESTIYA, there is information about biological research for applied military purposes being carried out in Egypt, Israel, India, Iran, Libya, Syria, and Taiwan. Pakistan is particularly active in this sphere. And although the Koran prohibits the use of poisons, it would be nice to have more solid guarantees. The East, as we know, is mystic.

And another point: If the Russian and U.S. bacteriological programs are purely civilian programs, why are they in the hands of military departments? After all, according to the director of the U.S. Military Medical Institute for Infectious Diseases, AIDS is a "picnic" compared with the latest bacteriological agents. So the longer you think about it, the more frightened you get.

Zhirinovskiy Interviewed on International, Domestic Issues

AU3006200293 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 28 Jun 93 p 10

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia, by KONTINENT correspondent Andrey Apostolov in Moscow; date not given: "Vladimir Zhirinovskiy Sees Himself As Russia's Future President, He Forecasts a Turkish Expansion in the Balkans"]

[Text] [Apostolov] You said that Bulgaria has no future without Russia?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, this is my opinion, because Europe and the United States need a conflict in Europe. They would like this conflict to escalate and to simmer. In this case they would be ready to look for a gendarme likely to manipulate the conflict in the interest of the United States, or of Germany, for example, but certainly not in the interest of the Slav peoples. Turkey could play just such a role of a convenient gendarme in the Balkans and in the Caucasus, and Turkey is trying hard to take over this role, as a matter of fact. The First Turkish Army is supposed to implement the plans for the Balkans, while the Third Army would be in charge of things in the Caucasus. The Turks are already training Azeri officers, and as far as I am informed, Turkish military advisers are active in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are already in Bulgaria, doing business, expanding their contacts, developing the tourist trade, which means that they will try to swallow Bulgaria in the first place. As we know, a highway from the Adriatic to the Bosphorus, with a whole infrastructure of hotels and restaurants under Turkish management, is expected to be built. All this is done with a view to dominating the Balkans and imposing a new Turkicization there. The Balkans are a very tasty piece of cake for Turkey, which they are coveting. You are really not to be envied. Your country is small, your population is not too large, and your army is weak. In the meantime the First Turkish Army with its 200,000 or 300,000 men is stationed in the south, ready to advance on the Adriatic to assist the Muslims in Bosnia. However, the achievement of this goal requires that Bulgaria should be occupied first. This would happen under the UN flag, of course. During the day the troops would assist the Muslims in Bosnia, while during the night they would be doing away with Bulgarian patriots. This is precisely the purpose of my forthcoming visit to Bulgaria. I would like to tell your democrats that they should stop dealing with their internal problems and give up their squabbles about who is the greater patriot, and realize that an enemy is watching them in the east, an enemy who is waiting for Bulgaria's further decline. Our two nations are linked together by their history and culture, and by the fact that we have a common enemy, namely Turkey. Slavonic solidarity should be stimulated. Perhaps we can find some form of unification.

[Apostolov] Can you describe your approach to the conflict in former Yugoslavia?

[Zhirinovskiy] Stalin was Yugoslavia's greatest misfortune. The fact that they forcibly adopted our model for the solution of their national problems was a mistake. They created a federative republic on the basis of our [Soviet] model, instead of establishing a South Slavonic state, which should have encompassed Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania and should have been called Yugoslavia, with Belgrade as a capital and with a common constitution. Federalism is not an appropriate state form

for the Slav peoples, and therefore their state disintegrated. Slavs need an unitary state, such as France, for example, where Gauls, Bretons, and Normans live together and consider themselves French. The Germans also have Prussians, Thuringians, and others, but they also consider themselves Germans. This is what should have happened to the Slavs. There should be only one Yugoslavia with Belgrade as the capital of the Southern Slavs, and no Bulgaria whatsoever should exist.

[Apostolov] You really mean no Bulgaria whatsoever?

[Zhirinovskiy] You have not understood the meaning of my words. I am talking about the necessity of the Slav peoples uniting, rather than perishing one by one. Otherwise, the Chinese will turn out to be the winners by the end of the century. They are likely to spread out in the Far East, while the Turks are expected to establish a greater Turkey reaching from the Adriatic to Tajikistan. The same applies to the Germans. Romania or Hungary may be in favor of uniting with the Czechs and Slovaks, which are Slav nations as well. Thus, a powerful South Slavonic state may be created, because Bulgaria has no future as a single state. Turkey is likely to dominate your country under all circumstances. This is also one of my reasons for visiting Bulgaria. I would like to tell the Bulgarians the truth about what awaits them in five or 10 years time. I have already told the Poles that they have no future. The Germans are likely to invade, because the Poles stand in their way. The Germans would not march against Russia, but unfortunately for Prussia, the Polish corridor has no future. We could agree with the Germans later on, so that they may not advance further than Slovenia. Let them take Slovenia, but the Slavs should not make any further concessions. You in Bulgaria and we in Russia should help each other so as to prevent the Turks from the east and the Germans from the west from pushing the Slavs into a corner. If it were not for Russia, the Turks would invade part of Bulgaria and the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the Germans would take Slovenia and Croatia. This is likely to happen within the next 10 years unless Russia interferes. As far as the Czech Republic is concerned, you can forget about it. Their entire industry is controlled by the Germans. Slovakia might survive if it joins us, but the Czechs are finished. Havel is their last president. The Germans are trying to resist us, but we should take advantage of them by forming an alliance with Germany adopting anti-American and anti-Turkish stands. This is the reason I am coming to your country: to tell you frankly all this. We should form an alliance with the Greeks against the Muslim Turkish danger in the south and in order to prevent Germany's advance from the west, by sacrificing Slovenia and perhaps part of Polish Prussia. I do not wish this to happen, but such are the facts. The Third

World War is under way. Russia should cease to participate in the embargo against Serbia because the Serbs are not the aggressors.

[Apostolov] What is your forecast on developments in Russia?

[Zhirinovskiy] I think that the bloodshed in the south is likely to continue for another year or two. Unfortunately, we are forced to go through this conflict, which is a permanent, secret civil war. Let us hope that it will end by 1995-1996 before the presidential elections. If this does not happen, Russia will be robbed. Anarchy is likely to continue, and things will be even worse. We would like to have elections but there will be no elections. The peaceful period is already over. Elections should have taken place in March 1993, when we could have overcome the crisis. Elections should not be held in autumn because elections cannot take place in a country at war. However, those who are in power prefer not to do anything and wait until parliament's and the president's terms of office have expired. Things could go on in this way for a while, but Colonel Guseynov and his people of Azerbaijan are likely to interfere with our rulers' plans. They will appear in various parts of our country and are likely to march on Moscow. In such a case, no elections and no referenda will help us. The foreboding of a future dictatorial regime can be felt in Russia, a regime that we are preparing ourselves. A dictatorship is likely to be successful because a transition from civil war to a civilian regime is impossible. A period of totalitarian rule is necessary.

[Apostolov] How do you estimate your chances in the event of presidential elections?

[Zhirinovskiy] We could recruit voters among the Communists, the Democrats, and the national patriots, and win the elections.

[Apostolov] Do you mean you would win the elections?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes. I mean the presidential elections. There are three likely candidates for president today, namely, Yeltsin, Rutskoy, and myself. Yeltsin is a sick man, he has real health problems. He has frequently disgraced himself as a politician. Rutskoy has been discredited on several occasions and both of them are likely to insult and slander each other. Each of them could win approximately 20-25 percent of the votes while I could defeat them with 30-35 percent of the votes. My party consists of 100,000 members but we have about 30 million potential voters.

[Apostolov] You have imposed a personality cult within your party. This reminds me both of fascism and communism.

[Zhirinovskiy] It results from the circumstances of our unstable society, which is in a state of war, and hence, calls for a centralization of power. I do not like it but it is a fact. I am neither a fascist nor a communist.

Political & Media Issues**Yeltsin Order Forbids Khasbulatov's Use of Aircraft***LD3006175993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today, Ruslan Khasbulatov was to have visited Penza Oblast, but his trip did not take place. The reasons given include the fact that the speaker was busy, but a parliamentary press service statement gives a different version. According to Russian Air Force Commander Deynekin, an instruction from President Yeltsin forbade the provision of an aircraft for the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and his deputies for official trips for personal reasons.

Shaposhnikov Puzzled by Parliament's Rejection*LD3006195293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1928 GMT 30 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—"I have the impression that a part of the Russian Parliament believes that if the president nominates a candidate to a state post, his nominee should be necessarily rejected," Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov told journalists on Wednesday [30 June] upon the completion of the session of the Russian Parliament, which had failed to endorse Shaposhnikov in the post of a secretary of the Security Council.

Shaposhnikov said that he was astonished to hear questions asked by Russian law-makers. "The people are so unprepared, so detached from the reality that they seem to grasp at anything up in the clouds," Shaposhnikov said.

Shaposhnikov intended to outline to the parliament his concept of the activities of the Security Council. However, he was not given the chance to do it. Asked by ITAR-TASS about the essence of the concept, Shaposhnikov said that it is necessary to develop and adopt a large-scale document of strategic importance aimed at the protection of interests of personal security, the security of the society and the country."

In his opinion, the Security Council is called upon to coordinate activities of ministries and departments for ensuring military, ecological and other protection of the society."

In his statement for the press, Shaposhnikov said that his rejection of all state posts was a natural reaction of a normal person to rude and insulting reprimands made by some law-makers, who have nothing to do with reality and politics. "A week's time out, after which the parliament will resume debates on my appointment, will help

clarify positions and help tell the difference between "grain and weeds", Shaposhnikov said.

Yeltsin Names New Officials to Export Bodies*LD3006131093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Jun 93*

[Text] New appointments in the highest echelons of Russia became known today. In particular, an instruction by the president and the head of government appoints Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets as chairman of the Russian Export Control Commission, while former Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha is appointed chairman of the Export Council attached to the Russian Council of Ministers.

PRAVDA on Allegations Against Shumeyko, Poltoranin*PM3006151593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 1*

[Georgiy Ovcharenko article: "Just Like Dew to Them"]

[Text] The "bombshell" delivered at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by Russian First Deputy General Prosecutor Nikolay Makarov exploded among society with such force that it seemed it would blow to bits the high officials suspected of actions harmful to the homeland. Or that at any rate it would force V. Shumeyko and M. Poltoranin to resign and then, as is customary in their beloved civilized countries, defend their honor and dignity in court.

But no! Instead of himself stepping down from his post, Russian Federation First Deputy Premier V. Shumeyko is telling... the Russian Supreme Soviet to do this. And he is publicly threatening to "investigate" both N. Makarov himself and the facts he cited in his report.

An equally harsh position has been adopted by Federation Information Center leader Mikhail Poltoranin, who in a Radio Liberty interview, ignoring the beam in his own eye, accused the leadership of the Russian General Prosecutor's Office and General Prosecutor V. Stepankov personally of unprofessionalism and political games. Despite the fact that only recently he praised Stepankov almost to the skies.

Incidentally, in our un-rule-of-law state (there is no mention of building a rule-of-law state even during discussion of the draft constitution) it is becoming the rule that as soon as anyone says even a word against the executive branch, that branch begins to defame him. This has happened with the Supreme Soviet, the Constitutional Court, and the vice president, and now, as we can see, the target is the Russian General Prosecutor's Office.

The Presidium of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is echoing its leaders and has issued a statement saying that the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decree "is another political action aimed

at discrediting the Russian Government's activity. The information reported to the session needs careful and impartial verification, which must be carried out in strict accordance with the law."

I would like to know what kind of "impartial verification" the gentlemen from the Council of Ministers Presidium want. After all, the extremely serious charges were made not by journalists, people's deputies, or even the vice president, but by the leader of the special commission of the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office set up by decision of the state's supreme legislative organ precisely in order to verify the facts set out by A. Rutskoy. It looks as though members of the Presidium want a biased check whereby the criminal cases that have been instituted would be examined not by specialists but by those who, so the investigators say, feature in these cases. V. Shumeyko has already made a bid for such a check when he announced to millions of TV viewers that he and the president would now carefully check all the facts reported by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet special commission.

In short, you could pour sulfuric acid into these gentlemen's eyes and it would be just like dew to them. At any rate, both V. Shumeyko and M. Poltoranin remain in their cozy official posts with the president's blessing and are continuing to implement reforms that are damaging Russia and Russian citizens. And our objective, democratic TV is helping them to do this by not allowing their opponents to speak out. And it is simply astonishing how often the first vice premier and the leader of the Federal Information Center have appeared on screen recently.

There is another point about this affair. In my view, First Deputy General Prosecutor Nikolay Makarov's speech would have been more persuasive if he had not only revealed the cases of corruption he mentioned but had also made charges against specific individuals. After this he would have had no need to ask the Supreme Soviet to adopt a decision on removing Shumeyko and Poltoranin from office. After all, the law vests the prosecutor's office with the right to independently remove officials from office after charges have been made against them. Had N. Makarov done this straightaway, without shifting responsibility to the Supreme Soviet, Shumeyko and co. would not have had the opportunity to accuse him and the Supreme Soviet of playing political games. But he clearly lacked sufficient boldness.

Rutskoy Replies To More Dacha Accusations

LD3006213693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy has answered in the media, questions from a group of people's deputies on his building a dacha. According to the people's deputies' information, the dacha will have a four-automobile garage, a sauna, a swimming pool, and an independent boiler house. Rutskoy draws attention to the fact that as

a servicemen he was offered a plot of land in the country as a life hereditary property. Apart from that, he has privileges as a Hero of the Soviet Union and as a participant in military actions in Afghanistan.

Agenda Reported for Government Presidium Meeting

LD0107083093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0706 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow July 1 TASS—The Presidium of the Russian Government chaired by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin began its meeting on Thursday [1 July.]

The agenda includes items on federal programmes to preserve and develop culture, a draft state programme for material and technical supplies to Interior Ministry bodies and implementation by ministries and departments of instructions provided for by the Russian president's decrees and directions as well as by the government's decisions.

The meeting will also discuss a list of legislative initiatives of the cabinet, which are planned to be submitted for the consideration of the seventh session of the Russian parliament.

Radio Rossii Power Cut Due to Nonpayment for Electricity

LD3006123493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, yesterday the most powerful of Radio Rossii's transmitters, transmitting our radio station's signal on longwave, was switched off. Our correspondent Elena Aseyeva today called Deputy Communications Minister Mikhail Yelizarov.

[Aseyeva] Deputy Communications Minister Mikhail Yelizarov told me that our transmitters will come back on when the power men switch on the power, because as it turns out the notorious switch was turned off not by the Communications Ministry, but by the joint stock company of the united Russian power supply, which yesterday cut the power to two lines feeding energy to a transmitter belonging to the Fuel and Energy Ministry. This is due to the fact, Mikhail Yelizarov said, that since January the price of electricity has increased 15 times and the Communications Ministry is simply unable to pay because money is not coming in from the Russian television and radio companies. When I asked, he said it was not the Communications Ministry that switched off the transmitter.

The deputy minister said: Judge for yourself; if we switch you off we will not receive income. We cannot have an interest in the switching off of the transmitter because the income is lost and the expenditure continues to mount as the communications men are working.

Mikhail Yelizarov believes it is the Finance Ministry that is to blame for it all. It should finance the All-Russian TV and Radio Company for 11 billion [currency not specified] but financed it only for 3 billion, he said. [passage omitted]

One can understand the power men, who for the fifth month running have not been able to receive payment for electricity. Incidentally, since last year, its cost to the Communications Ministry has gone up 60 times and charges for use of communications services have increased by one and a half times. As they say, feel the difference!

Income at the Communications Ministry is not sufficient to pay for electricity. Mikhail Yelizarov believes the Council of Ministers and Finance Ministry are not giving this problem enough significance. As a result, the TV and radio companies cannot pay for the services of the communications men. The communications men's debt to the powermen is growing, and they simply turn off the power when they do not get paid. [passage omitted]

Sakhalin, Kuril Media Workers on Strike for Rights

LD0107080293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0753 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk July 1 TASS—Television and radio sets are maintaining an unusual silence on the Sakhalin and Kuril Islands today as a result of a strike by these islands' telecommunication workers and TV and radio journalists who have united themselves in order to defend their rights. The main cause behind this warning strike is the absence of resources to finance activities of the local electronic mass media means.

According to chairman of the "Sakhalin" TV and Radio Company Valeriy Belyayev, this state enterprise has received 204 million roubles less from the federal budget in this year alone. Its social programme has been abandoned, workers of the company have been receiving their wages with a delay of 1 to 2 months, and the law on northern privileges, which was adopted by the Russian Supreme Soviet and came into force from June 1, has become meaningless.

At present the average monthly salary of a "Sakhalin" TV and radio worker is 13 thousand roubles. Soaring fuel and power tariffs and communications service charges have turned the island's TV and radio establishment into a bankrupt debtor whose life cannot be saved by an odd injection in the form of last-minute credits from local banks.

A telegram sent by the strike committee to the Ministry of Press and Information has been ignored. Television and radio workers of Sakhalin do not rule out the possibility of an indefinite strike after the warning strike.

Sakhalin TV Chief Cited

LD0107092693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Television and radio sets are unusually silent in Sakhalin and the Kurils today. Communications men and TV and radio journalists have declared a one-day warning strike.

The fact that local television and radio broadcasting is in a critical state on Russian territory was mentioned at an emergency session of the Council of Heads of Regional State TV and Radio Companies. [Video shows Vladimir Belyayev, chairman of the Sakhalin TV and Radio company, speaking.]

[Belyayev] Meager financing of the studios has practically led to their work being wound up and indeed local TV and radio in Russia today constitutes nearly three-quarters of the overall volume of broadcasting. But the studios now have nothing with which to pay for communications services. The pay of editorial workers is delayed for months on end.

Meanwhile the Supreme Soviet has given the Ministry of Communications the right to take money from the companies' accounts. At the same time there is practically no support coming from the Ministry of Information and the press. The heads of television and radio companies said frankly at the conference that the situation in the studios is verging on a strike and they will be forced to suspend broadcasting in the regions. Understandably, in embarking on that extreme measure the local companies want to draw the attention of the Russian legislative and executive authorities to their problems and especially the solution of the question of ownership of the companies. [Video shows conference in progress.]

TV, Radio Employees in Regions Threaten Strike

LD3006210093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By Correspondent Dadyko, including recorded of remarks by A. Nazeykin, chairman of central committee of Communications Workers Trade Union; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Dadyko] Employees at communications enterprises and television and radio companies have not been paid in some Russian oblasts for two or three months. They have nothing with which to pay for the electricity they use, either. The accounting system in state structures is very devious. The Finance Ministry pays the television and radio companies, who in turn pay the employees, who in turn pay the power people. As a result of the disruption to these various echelons, it turns out that everybody who likes watching television and listening to the radio suffers.

The central committee of the Communications Workers Trade Union sent a letter to the president and prime

minister of Russia on 11 June asking them to settle the question of allocating funds, but there has still been no answer. From tomorrow, communications workers in various Russian regions are ready to switch off their transmitters.

[Nazeykin] Communications workers have never (?made a fuss or gone on strike), they are the most disciplined (word indistinct), but even the patience of communications workers has snapped because of this attitude by the government.

[Dadyko] Communications workers are not just asking for money, but for a proper method of financing for both their own and associated sectors to be developed, so that the whole story will not simply repeat itself in a few months time.

TV Programs to Far East May Be Cut From 1 Jul
LD3006220893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] News from television: Today Stanislav Kuznetsov, the head of the state enterprise Radio Broadcasts and Radio Communications, warned people living in the Amur region that television programs may not go on the air to the Far East beginning tomorrow. If those in communications actually go ahead with this forced measure, then practically the whole country could end up without Ostankino and Russian Television programs.

Minister Blames Finance Ministry for Lost TV Air Time
LD0107125593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 1 Jul 93

[“Time for Business” program]

[Text] Much attention is now being paid to the prospects for cooperation between Russian television companies and Western partners. A news conference given by Russian Minister for Communications Vladimir Bulgak was devoted to this issue.

[Unidentified correspondent] But, in fact, not everything is going as smoothly as we think. On 25 June television broadcasts to Siberia and the Far East were stopped.

[Begin Bulgak recording] This problem is not technical or political, but purely economic, caused by the fact that the state coffers are being filled very slowly and the television and radio companies with whom we are working are not getting money from them. [end recording]

Who is responsible for the damage which state and nonstate television companies may suffer as a result of losing a large number of their viewers? According to the minister, responsibility should lie with the financial bodies who are wrecking the financing of structures

which provide Siberia and the Far East with broadcasts. A solution would be the necessary measure of making the Ministry of Finances fulfill the law of Russia on the budget, it is believed.

Chita Oblast Without TV Due To Workers Strike
LD3006200693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] It is hard to imagine modern man's life without television. However in Chita, television viewers have been without television and radio programs for several days. All eight transmitters have been switched off in the oblast, and television viewers are not being told anything about hunger strikes or strikes. It seems that communications workers are ready to strike not only in Chita.

Far East Media Face Funding Crisis 'Breakdown'
PM3006141993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Nikita Vaynonen report under the "Echo of the Day" rubric: "Television Sets Switched Off in Chita. The Same Thing Threatens the Whole Country"]

[Text] The Transbaykal is bereft not just of television and radio broadcasts. Communications, the hydrometeorological service, and other departments relaying vitally important information were silenced after power workers severed electricity supplies—they have not been paid for this commodity. As of 1 July, the very same situation may arise in Khabarovsk. A chain reaction is about to envelop communications engineers servicing retransmission stations, transmitters, and radio and television centers: They have declared a prestrike situation, as they have not been paid since April (since March, in Magadan).

What has happened?

As M. Yelizarov, deputy minister of communications, explained to ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, the ministry has no money either to settle accounts for electricity or to pay its workers, as television and radio companies and the Ministry of the Press and Information are failing to give it the funds stipulated under treaties. The debt has topped 18 billion [currency not specified]. The defaulters in their turn refer quite justifiably to the fact that they receive no money from the budget. For several months already both the Press Ministry, and all three of our television and radio companies have been bombarding Chernomyrdin, Shumeyko, Soskovets, Poltoranin, Fedotov with alarming signals... As a result, menacing documents are being generated bearing one and the same categorical phrase: "The breakdown of television and radio broadcasting, and communications systems cannot be allowed!" The documents are finding their way to the Ministry of Finance where, as we were told in the very

two administrations which handle the financing of communications and socio-cultural sphere, it is alleged that "we are always striving to support" television, but it is impossible to grant credits to all defaulters.

The only way out would seem to be to finance not the one which shouts louder, but the one whose needs are more vital right now for the country's well-being. Television and radio do not simply relay events but, according to the testimony of sociologists, they cement society and the country, keeping them from collapse.

Regional Television Heads Discuss Financial Plagues

LD3006213293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Vladimir Belyayev] The critical situation of local radio and television broadcasting was the theme of today's extraordinary meeting of the council of heads of regional state television and radio companies.

The meager financing of the studios has virtually led to the curtailment of their work. Local television and radio in Russia today makes up virtually three quarters of the total volume of broadcasting. But the studios now have no means of paying for communications services. The editorial staff, themselves, suffer delays in receiving their wages.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Soviet has given the Communications Ministry the right to take money from the companies' accounts. The Ministry of Information and Press is giving virtually no support on this.

At the conference the heads of the television and radio companies said frankly that there is a pre-strike situation in the studios and that they will be forced to halt broadcasting in the regions. It is understandable that by undertaking this extreme step some companies wish to call the attention of Russia's legislative and executive powers to their problems and in the first instance to resolving the question of the companies' property.

[V.A. Galskiy, chairman of the council of heads of television and radio companies of Russia] I must state once again that the question is a rather serious one. In essence it is a matter of whether or not there will be any regional television in the republics, krais, and oblasts of the Russian Federation.

Constitution Issues

Acting Minister Cited on Arbitration Commission

PM3006141093 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 2

[Roza Sergaziyeva report: "Disputes Will Be Examined"]

[Text] By decision of the Russian president, a Constitutional Arbitration Commission has been set up at the Constitutional Conference, comprising members of the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Court of Arbitration who are taking part in the Constitutional Conference, plus important legal scientists. The resolution of the most contentious issues that have arisen in the course of discussing the draft new Constitution is on the commission's shoulders. "Our commission has only had one session so far," acting Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov told ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's correspondent. "A number of questions are accumulating for us to discuss. First and foremost they will be legal questions, but political questions are not ruled out. We will have to examine contentious problems, the most acute problems that have arisen at the Constitutional Conference in the groups and in the final coordination commission." According to Yuriy Kalmykov, rulings will be made by a majority vote. The Tatarstan problem will be the most serious. Tatarstan has raised the question of its special status being defined in the Constitution. Materials have already been sent to the Arbitration Commission.

Shakhray on Constitution Adoption Procedures

MK3006102093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 27, 4 Jul 93 (signed to press 29 Jun) p A8

[Interview with Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray coordinator of a Constitutional Conference working group, by Olga Bychkova in "Constitution" column: "In Search of a State Formula"]

[Text] On 26 June more scandals were awaited at the Constitutional Conference. Yet the anticipated demarches did not materialize: Neither deputies of the intransigent parliament, nor representatives of irreconcilable parties, nor delegates of the free-wheeling Tatarstan, contrary to their statements, left the Kremlin. Which indirectly confirmed the general feeling that there is no alternative to what is going on.

The ultimate result that is being sought is well known: The conference should come up with a final product in the form of a draft constitution and a draft election law. But the product's fate still remains unclear. The draft election law was delayed at the preparatory stage. A consolidated draft constitution called for more time than was expected. Under a new schedule, work on it will continue at the end of the week, and another two days after that are allotted for a final preparation of the text. Things should end with a vote but a not final one: There should also be a later, additional plenary commission session which is due to take place after the promulgation of the draft and its official approval by the Russian Federation's components.

At the final stage it will be dealt with by a constitutional arbitration commission formed from among the judges

of the Constitutional, the Supreme, and the High Arbitration Courts and also some well-known jurists. Therefore the lawyers should become the final authority and actually the authors of the text of the constitution.

MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has asked Sergey Shakh-ray, coordinator of one of the conference panels, vice premier of the government, about the president's further steps.

[Bychkova] The procedure for adopting the constitution is still unclear. What guarantees are there that the president will manage to stay within a legitimate framework?

[Shakh-ray] There is no doubt that he will manage. Since the supreme criterion of legitimacy is that the people make the final decision—in elections or a referendum.

[Bychkova] But both need to be given a legal justification....

[Shakh-ray] Our constitution does not provide for procedures for adopting a new Fundamental Law. The entire problem lies in the transition from one type of state to another, from one system of law to another. This transition is impossible in the framework of juridical positivism. I once said in the Constitutional Court that legal positivism is a blood brother of legal cretinism. Legitimate mechanisms for removing contradictions are necessary. We worked out such mechanisms back in August 1990 in the parliamentary legislation committee and introduced them into the current constitution. These, first of all, are the principles of people's power, separation of powers, federalism, and a republican form of government. Second, the referendum law which imparts legal force to people's power. And third, the law on the Constitutional Court as a body that may interpret the principles of the constitutional system and remove contradictions between the different parts of various legal acts.

As a result, some basic principles were created and now we can use such a principle as people's power. It is through a referendum or new elections that the contradictions of the transitional period should be eliminated. Elections can be called by the congress or the Supreme Soviet. If not, this will be done by the president but without parliament, relying on the decision of the Russian Federation's components. Or the dual power situation will end in a classic way, and in the fall a certain colonel will come along to put things in order.

[Bychkova] But neither the president nor the Federation components have such a legitimate right....

[Shakh-ray] Do you think the congress has it? If the congress' power to decide on any question comes into conflict with the principle whereby power belongs to the people, therefore this power may not be realized contrary to the people. The president has not acquired the right to "grant" the people a constitution at his own discretion. But he has received a mandate to build a new state power

system. The president may not create this power by his own edicts, but he may appeal to the people. As long as the constitution provides for coexistence of two types of state—a Soviet republic and a presidential republic—authority at the federal level will be inactive. To enable it to function, one of the political groups could, for example, take it by force. But no one has that force, and so both groups are just shuffling around like bad dancers. They must reach minimum accord of some kind. And this accord could be elections so that it is not the tanks but the population itself that could decide what needs to be changed and how. New elections would call for a new constitution or a transitional statute.

[Bychkova] But could a referendum not set off an explosion just as well?

[Shakh-ray] It could. And perhaps this is why a referendum has not been called so far—hence all the processes around the Constitutional Court and the attempts by the main political forces to "adjust" to each other. The constitution drafted by the constitutional conference may not be adopted. But it is already a political conciliation platform on whose basis elections could be held.

[Bychkova] What surprised you in the process of the Constitutional Conference?

[Shakh-ray] There were not a few surprises although perhaps the main one was that all the unexpected problems were resolved. The biggest surprise was that for the first time in the recent period there was no fight over the division of powers between the center and the republics. There was a vigorous debate between the republics, krais, and oblasts of the Russian Federation, between the "unitarists" and the "confederalists," and this debate continues. As for the center, for the first time it has acted as an arbiter, and as a result it has restored nine-tenths of the powers that it should have as a democratic federative state.

[Bychkova] And what about Tatarstan, which has announced that it is recalling its representatives from the conference?

[Shakh-ray] I admit that this statement was made. But I have not seen it, nor has anyone else. There are two representatives from Tatarstan working in the group of federation component representatives, which I coordinate, and the vice president is in the conciliation commission. In other words, no one has left any of the conference bodies and in fact the statement has not been enforced.

[Bychkova] But has this problem of "special status" been resolved, or does it still remain?

[Shakh-ray] The sides are imparting different meanings to this notion. It would be better to avoid definitions like "federation," "confederation".... Let us discuss which powers Chechnya or Tatarstan will have; which powers it is in the common interests to preserve at the center and

which should be shared. And this should be decided not by theoreticians but by specialists in particular fields—railway men, chemists, metallurgists.... Of course, at a level not lower than minister—those who are responsible for a particular branch. We have applied this scheme in relations with Chechnya and we have reached certain accords, but further dialogue so far is hampered by the unstable situation. The same scheme is being used, with mutual consent, in Tatarstan: Several special agreements have been signed.

As far as I am concerned, with this approach to the constitution two tasks take on special significance. First, to formalize the principle that the division of powers is determined by the constitution and treaties (this formula, at the initiative of Tatarstan's vice president, was included in the consolidated draft constitution). Second, the existing principles should be preserved, whereby both the center can delegate a certain amount of its powers to federation components (a republic or an oblast—it makes no difference to me) and the other vice versa.

To be sure, there must be limitations—the foundations of the constitutional system may not be violated. In other words, the separation of powers must not lead to the disintegration of Russia and its economic space, must not break the principle of separation of powers, the principle of federalism, the secular and social character of the state. The interests of other components, citizens' rights, and so forth may not be infringed. The rest is regulated by normal life and by normal economics.

Everything is very simple but very difficult at the same time. There are many defenders of unitarism, of some abstract unity.... But nothing will come of attempts to devise a single universal formula in Moscow.

Means of Adopting Constitution Evaluated

PM3006110693 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 2

[Interviews with Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev, People's Deputy Mikhail Mityukov, Gennadiy Burbulis, and People's Party of Russia leader Telman Gdlyan, by correspondent Olga Burkaleva; place and date of interviews not stated: "A New Constitution Is a Way Out of the Impasse. But How Is It To Be Adopted?"]

[Text] When the draft new Russian constitution is ready, the question of how to adopt it will inevitably arise. How do the participants in the Constitutional Conference see this procedure? ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent Olga Burkaleva asked the questions.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, Academician

It would appear that the most constitutional method is for the Congress to adopt the Fundamental Law. But I wonder about the legitimacy of the Congress itself. The deputies were elected under the old system, in a state

which no longer exists in reality. But since our revolution-evolution is nonviolent, historical realities must be reckoned with. On the other hand, what makes an elected Federal Assembly, for instance, any less legitimate? Nothing. I put forward the idea of a Constituent Assembly back at the first congress of the Movement for Democratic Reforms in December 1991. Even then I thought that, given that the events of August 1991 had happened, it was necessary to create something that would give legitimacy to this new power. But the moment was lost. People succumbed to the euphoria of victory. And they forgot to build the foundations of legitimacy. If that had been done back then, there would be no problem now over adopting the new constitution.

All things considered, I believe a referendum is the most legitimate means of adopting the new constitution. Publish the text of the draft, conduct a nationwide discussion, finalize it, and put it to a referendum. Then nobody will be able to cast doubt on the Constitution's legitimacy. Some say that the people will not turn out. They will turn out. All you have to do is give people time to study the draft Fundamental Law.

Mikhail Mityukov, Russian People's Deputy

The question of how to adopt the new constitution is the most difficult part of this process. I am an advocate of a legitimate means of adoption. We on the committee have virtually completed the drafting of a law on the procedure for adopting a new constitution. We believe that the draft Fundamental Law examined at the Constitutional Conference should be submitted to the Congress for its consideration. Beforehand, the Supreme Soviet should examine it and send it to the Federation components. If, after that, the Congress does not adopt the draft, it should be put to a referendum. But just one draft! Khasbulatov's idea of putting three drafts to a referendum predetermines an unhelpful result. None of the drafts will be approved, and the constitutional process would be wrecked.

If, for some reason, a referendum proves not to be viable, for that eventuality we are making provision in the draft law for the possibility that the Congress would hand over the examination of the draft to a Constitutional Assembly formed under a special law adopted by the Supreme Soviet. If this path is not accepted, it will be a great loss to the constitutional process, because the draft which we discussed 26 June is a good draft, written to a good legal standard, taking realities into account, preserving a strong, effective parliament, and strengthening the executive authority of the president.

Gennadiy Burbulis

It is my most sincere wish that the method of adopting the new constitution should be as appropriate as possible to the scale of the historic constitutional transformation of Russia which it enshrines. I therefore wish it to be as lawful as possible. Representative to the broadest degree. It is important to seek the method of adoption on the

basis of these criteria. I see several highly cogent methods at this point. Among them this: Given full consensus and the maintenance of the political momentum that the president and the conference have presently gained, it would be possible to hold elections of a new parliament in the fall and instruct it to adopt a new constitution by the new year. But that is only possible given full consensus. If we cannot find that consensus, the most correct solution is a Constitutional Assembly, convened on a wide, representative basis from the regions of Russia, with elections, but with a momentum that must not be lost today. The idea of a referendum is tempting, but it seems to me that it would be more fruitful for people to elect the conscious section of the population, which is able by virtue of its knowledge and professional vision to express the will of the rest. Referendums are more useful on other matters. I think these are the two most logical formulas for adopting the new constitution.

[Burkaleva] But there is no provision for these options in the existing Constitution, which means they are not legitimate...

[Burbulis] Quite true. Therefore, in addition to the work that is being done today at the Constitutional Conference, it is also necessary to formulate a method of adopting the constitution which is appropriate both to the times and to the legal possibilities.

The Constitutional Conference is, so to speak, the beginnings of the Constitutional Assembly I spoke of. Psychologically, ethically, and in terms of political values. We therefore need a draft document that would legitimize the method of adopting the constitution—taking into account, first, the authority of the conference, which I rate very seriously in the eyes of Russian voters. And second, additional representative structures of some kind. The president could be recommended to promulgate this document, and the Supreme Soviet to ratify it. And then we would have an entirely legitimate form of advancing toward defining the means of adopting the new constitution.

[Burkaleva] Could the Supreme Soviet approve such steps?

[Burbulis] It seems to me that you and I are prejudiced against the Supreme Soviet. In the past month the political and sociopsychological situation in the country has changed substantially. The majority of Supreme Soviet members are turning into political outsiders, and they are not going to be satisfied with that for long. Some kind of accommodation must be found. The courage must be found to admit that there is more consensus in society than, for various reasons, people would wish. Confidence in the president and his course has been confirmed, and moreover we are, in my view, overcoming aspects of deadlock between the Federation components on key issues. Let us therefore assume that the Supreme Soviet is still capable of some sense, and let us help it to show that sense.

Telman Gdlyan, Leader of the People's Party of Russia

The most rational way, and in my view the only possible way in the circumstances, is for the Constitutional Conference to submit a single draft to the Congress, so that it can adopt what has been drawn up by the joint efforts of all the representatives of the powers and of political parties and organizations, that is, the entire political spectrum in the Russian Federation. If the Congress does not adopt it, then there is no strictly legitimate means of adopting the new constitution. In that event the president will have no alternative but to endow the present Constitutional Conference with the powers of a Constitutional Assembly, so as to find a way out of the crisis.

A Constituent Assembly. That would be splendid. Our People's Party of Russia has advocated this, and is still committed to this course in theory. But if we now set the target of putting into practice the idea of a Constituent Assembly, it will not be possible for the Constituent Assembly to adopt a constitution until 1994, and who knows in what month. And what will become of Russia in the meantime?... We need to find a way out of the constitutional crisis as soon as possible and establish equilibrium between the powers, so as to break the political deadlock. And apart from political deadlock, we have plenty of other deadlocks: legal, economic, and so forth. The adoption of a new constitution is the first sensible step to break these deadlocks. If the legislative arm of power, headed by Mr. Khasbulatov, grasps that there is no way to solve the problem other than by achieving a constitutional regime of government of the country, they will doubtless come down here and sit at a "roundtable" with us, and together we can draw up a single draft for the future Fundamental Law of the Russian Federation. Otherwise it is eternal confrontation, culminating in bloodshed and civil war. Only political adventurers can want that.

Parliamentary Group Seeks Ways To Adopt Constitution

LD0107140293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1339 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow July 1 TASS—A new Russian constitution can and must be adopted only legitimately and constitutionally, said speakers at an open meeting of the "Accord for Progress" parliamentary group held here on Thursday [1 July].

Arguments of the group's coordinators were very convincing. Russian legislator Viktor Sheynis who continues to participate in the work of the Constitutional Conference along with some 30 members of the Constitutional Commission who decided not to walk out of the forum and to hammer out an agreed draft constitution, said that various groups at the Constitutional Conference

even now reached considerable rapprochement of positions and strive for creating a single draft of the fundamental law for a new Russia.

Turning to the mechanisms of adopting the new constitution, Yuriy Nesterov, another coordinator of the group, suggested that when the Constitutional Conference ends and produces the draft constitution, the draft can be finalized jointly by working groups of The Constitutional Commission and the Constitutional Conference. Following this, it can be submitted for the consideration of the Congress of People's Deputies (extended parliament).

Coordinators of the group do not preclude a chance that the Congress can block the draft prepared in this way. Therefore, they now look for other legitimate and constitutional ways of approving the new constitution.

For instance, they actively discuss the idea of holding an all-Russian referendum on the draft constitution. Seeking to achieve success in this respect, coordinators suggest that amendments to "the law on referendum" should be made.

According to Nesterov, a decision at the referendum should be considered as adopted if it is approved by at least two-thirds of citizens who went to the polls. Nesterov believes that the referendum should be considered legitimate if at least 50 per cent of voters participate in it.

Describing the role of the parliamentary Constitutional Commission in the work on the new constitution, Sheynis stressed that "this body has not exhausted its potential", and it could make a substantial contribution to the work on the constitution.

However, Sheynis noted, the majority of its members follow the example of Oleg Rummyantsev, the executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission, who ignores meetings of the Constitutional Conference.

Sheynis singled out the problem of different status of the federation's subjects among the most difficult problems of the new constitution. This status presupposes the recognition of state sovereignty for some territories.

According to Sheynis, a compromise reached at the Constitutional Conference on this issue "cannot be regarded as final".

Differences Remain on Constitutional Needs

PM3006130793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1,2

[Aleksandr Linkov commentary under the "Constitutional Conference" rubric: "Differences of Opinion Remain. Serious Ones"]

[Text] As expected, 26 June's plenary session of participants in the Constitutional Conference was not the concluding one. Although it had proved possible to prepare a single document out of the two drafts by then.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin said this at a short meeting with journalists before the beginning of the conference's work. Noting that there are certain controversial issues, he spoke of the need to hold another plenary session where everything would be put to rights. The president also proposes to state his position on the procedure for the adoption of the new constitution. Particularly since new and original ideas had emerged. Admittedly, true to his tradition, he did not go into details, but only noted: They are entirely legitimate.

Opening the plenary session, the Russian president briefly summed up what had been done by the conference participants and then gave the floor to A. Yakovlev to speak on behalf of the working commission. During a 30-minute report and during his answers to questions, A. Yakovlev tried to explain what had ultimately happened.

In his opinion, the draft constitution has now acquired real outlines and a structure has emerged. The members of the working commission have tried to take into account all observations and proposals made by participants in the conference. It is being proposed that the future system in Russia will not be purely presidential or purely parliamentary. It is simply impossible to impose some kind of model from above. We must follow our own path, where all the branches of power mutually balance each other.

A. Yakovlev's detailed speech did not nevertheless lend a quiet and conciliatory tone to the conference. Rather the reverse was true—the discussion that unfolded showed that the desire of the conference organizers to deal with the constitutional problems in a one quick maneuver is coming up against stubborn resistance.

On one of the main controversial issues—what Russia should be like—S. Shakhrai believes that it has finally proved possible to find an acceptable formula: The Russian republics obtain the status of sovereign states while the krais, oblasts, and autonomies become state-territorial formations. In his opinion, this gives the components of the Federation equal opportunities. However, by no means everyone shares the vice premier's optimism. As we know, Tatarstan has its own opinion on everything. And this includes the future constitution. It was therefore stated unequivocally in Vice President V. Likhachev's speech that the center's relations with the republics should be constructed on a treaty basis.

V. Novikov, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Krai Soviet, did not share S. Shakhrai's viewpoint, as he believes that all components of the Federation should be given equal rights. The proposed formula seems to achieve this, but the republics still remain a degree higher.

An equally big argument is going on about whether the republic should be a presidential or parliamentary republic. In the prepared version of the draft, the president does not head the executive. This has provoked sharp disagreement from representatives of a number of

political parties, who believe that the president's role has been played down. But this idea is far from being supported by everyone.

The discussion among the conference participants was notable for another speech, in which the main idea for calling this conference was perhaps confirmed once again. Without beating about the bush, G. Popov said that the group of representatives of political parties and social movements had brought their leaders together in the desire to see themselves in the supreme representative organ. That is why the main task today is to organize elections. That is where the main attention should be concentrated today. A federal assembly could later take on the adoption of the constitution.

The almost two-hour discussion exposed existing serious differences of opinion on key constitutional problems. On behalf of the working commission A. Yakovlev promised to take all proposals into account in further work. Another commission—the Constitutional Arbitration Commission—will have a hard job here, because mutually exclusive proposals are sometimes made on which it is hard if not impossible to find a compromise.

When he met with journalists, therefore, Russian President B. Yeltsin did not specify the timing of the commission's work or the date of the next plenary sitting. His more loquacious press secretary V. Kostikov believes that it will take about 10 days. We will most probably find out at the next plenary session how it is proposed that the new constitution should nevertheless be adopted, since the Russian president regularly speaks about more and more new ideas.

Meanwhile the constitutional theme was discussed fairly extensively last week in the Russian parliament. On 25 June Constitutional Commission Secretary I. Fedoseyev addressed a joint sitting of the chambers and reported on the progress of work on the draft fundamental law. Again the date of the Congress of People's Deputies which is to adopt the Constitution was confirmed—17 November.

Opposition Forces Forge Election Bloc, Seek Leader

MK3006100093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 1

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report under the "Parties" rubric: "Patriots Look for Their Own Leader. Opposition Works on Draft Constitution"]

[Text] The opposition parties and movements, rejecting both the president-proposed variant of a constitution and the Constitutional Conference he originated, are working on their own drafts of Russia's future state system. The patriots' conference yesterday was devoted to the coming constitutional reform. Among its participants were members of the leadership of the Union of Russia's Revival, the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, the Christian Democratic Union of Russia,

the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Socialist Party of Working People, and so forth.

Widely known today are the "presidential," "parliamentary," and "communist" draft constitutions. The objective of yesterday's conference was to demonstrate that the "patriotic" draft constitution is not only quite ready by now, but also enjoys support from influential political forces. A draft fundamental law of Russia was presented at the conference by leaders of the Union of Russia's Revival and the Congress of Russia Communities. Dmitriy Rogozin, the union's chairman, stated in his introductory address that "the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin cannot claim a monopoly on discussion of a document affecting the interests of all people of Russia." Therefore, Rogozin thought, developers of all the draft constitutions should be taking part in drawing up Russia's fundamental law. The final document should be put to the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia scheduled for November. Following which, according to Rogozin, there should be early general elections.

All participants in the conference were perhaps quite unanimous in that one should proceed from national traditions in developing a new Russian constitution. For example, Viktor Aksyuchits, leader of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, stated that he linked Russia's spiritual revival with such undoubted values as constitutional monarchy, and zemstvo traditions.

At the end of the conference, representatives of the patriotic parties and movements agreed to draw up, in the most immediate future, a declaration of Russia's state principles, on whose basis the majority of patriotic parties and movement could unite. Another important outcome of the conference is the decision by a number of patriotic organizations (the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, the Union of Russia's Revival, the Russian National Union) to start regular political consultations aimed at hammering out a single position on vital political issues. Obviously, these consultations may result in a new election bloc's taking shape.

The patriots need a leader for the coming elections and, obviously, as soon as possible. Recent contacts by heads of the patriotic camp with Yuriy Skokov appear rather remarkable in this connection. This political figure is rather liked by patriots both for "his pragmatic approach to political questions and for having made a clean break with the president's team." According to quite reliable sources, Yuriy Skokov and Vladimir Ispravnikov, the deputy parliament chairman, are actively engaged in building a party. Various models for a new political organization are being studied. Quite possibly, the Party of Consolidation, known to few people so far, will serve as a "pattern." Quite apparently, politicians of Skokov's and Ispravnikov's stature would hardly be content with creating a party. To all appearances, it is a matter of forming a broad-based political bloc clearly geared to election purposes. There is already a precedent. During a conference of goods manufacturers in April, the leader of the Industrial Union parliamentary faction, Yuriy

Skokov, named Yuriy Skokov [as published] as "the best possible candidate for the post of president."

Military Issues

Terekhov Addresses All-Officers' Assembly

PM3006155193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 3

["Abbreviated" account of report delivered by Lieutenant Colonel Stanislav Terekhov, leader of the Officers' Union, at 26-27 June All-Army Officers' Assembly in St. Petersburg: "Stanislav Terekhov: Third World War Is Under Way"]

[Text] The latest All-Army Officers' Assembly, at which the regional organizations of the Officers' Union in the Northwest, Central Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine were represented, took place 26-27 June 1993 in St. Petersburg. Representatives of parties and public movements took part in the assembly's work. Lt. Col. S. Terekhov, the organization's leader, delivered a report on the current military-political situation and the tasks of the Officers' Union. The report, Colonel General V. Achalov's speech, and other officers' speeches received fervent support from the conference participants.

The outstanding event in the life of Russia's soldiers was the blessing by Archimandrite Patonov, professor of the religious academy, of the Officers' Union banner at the shrine of the venerable Prince Aleksandr Nevskiy—great warrior and statesman of our motherland.

On 27 June the officers' assembly was addressed by Metropolitan Ioani of St. Petersburg and Ladoga. His heartfelt words about patriotism and the spiritual meaning of serving Russia militarily were received enthusiastically by the assembled soldiers, who recalled the great meaning of the oath of loyalty to the fatherland and the people.

The All-Army Officers' Assembly adopted a resolution on the informational-intellectual and psychological war being waged against Russia's peoples and on actions to defend the country in wartime conditions.

Based on the proposals received from various CIS countries, it was decided to hold an All-Union Officers' Assembly in Minsk in September.

Below we publish a somewhat abbreviated version of S. Terekhov's report.

[Terekhov] In the year since the inception of the Officers' Union its place as a public organization of officers and the place of the All-Army Officers' Assembly as the exponent of the officer corps' opinion has been clearly defined in the system of the country's sociopolitical forces. Our sociopolitical position has been clearly formulated—we are not the adherents of any party or the bearers and transmitters of any ideology. We have declared ourselves supporters of a strong state, as state

patriots—and how! Most leading sociopolitical forces now acknowledge us as the best-organized opposition force, capable not only of leading the masses but also of organizing them, which has been repeatedly confirmed by practice. We are viewed at all levels of state and military authority as an organized military opposition to the regime with our own clearly formulated views on what is happening in the state and Army.

Our ranks have swelled substantially in the time that has elapsed. We have organizations in every region of the Soviet Union. Paradoxically, the main bulk of our members is concentrated in the regions and not in the center, which makes it possible, on the other hand, to judge that the ideas, aims, and principles are most widely supported precisely by the military community and not by representatives of the central apparatus.

The previous stage has been a period which has seen our establishment as a social force, the definition of the organization's aims, principles, and methods of work, and the laying of its foundations. We must go further. It is impossible to elaborate a game plan without taking account of the situation in the country, the background to how it arose, and the trends of change.

The approach of a world raw material crisis is already an acknowledged fact. The global ecological crisis which is putting many Western countries on the verge of catastrophe—chemical production facilities, problems with burying radioactive waste, and such like—is combining with a systemic crisis of statehood in these countries whose essence lies in the particular intensification of conflicts between the need to combine the efforts of a great number of various enterprises and to decentralize their management. It is this conflict that once led to the Great Depression in the United States in the thirties, which culminated in a switch from wild capitalism to state monopoly capitalism. All these arguments would have been irrelevant here had it not been for the realization of the simple fact that the West is trying to sidestep this crisis at the expense of Russia's resources. This is the geopolitical background to the events occurring in our country.

The West's geopolitical interests on our country's territory are being realized through a system of actions which are called psychological operations in foreign military documents. All doubts about this vanish when you compare the nature of the activity of "democratic" publications and radio and television programs which are well known to us with the provisions of U.S. and NATO army documents on the theory and practice of psychological warfare. For example, familiarization with U.S. Army Field Manual FM33-1, which defines the forms, methods, and ways of conducting psychological operations, and Field Manual FM100-5 entitled "Conducting Combat Operations," provides really convincing evidence that every day these mass media have a **combat impact on the population**, while the overall management and planning of this kind of impact are the functions of the U.S. military command.

Foreign military specialists stated decades ago that any direct military confrontation involving the use of traditional types of weapons and materiel is impossible in conditions of prevailing nuclear parity between two powers, because it does not make it possible to achieve any sensible political aims. It was because of this that the concept of psychological operations was developed. The importance of this form of aggression was demonstrated during the Gulf War. Psychological actions against the enemy had taken place even before that, reaching their height during World War II. However, psychological operations were devised as a separate type of combat operations in recent decades, which is recorded in U.S. Army Manual FM 100-5 entitled "Conducting Combat Operations."

The forms of psychological actions are defined in U.S. Army Manual FM33-1. They are strategic, operational, and tactical psychological operations. Depending on their purpose they are classified as psychological operations to conduct propaganda among the civilian population, psychological operations to confuse the enemy, and psychological operations to support low-intensity conflicts and special operations.

The methods of psychological actions are quite varied. There is no time to list them fully in a report. Here I will note the methods most familiar to us:

1. Humanitarian aid programs. This method of influence belongs to the category of psychological actions defined by formal documents containing regulations. You will recall that we first started receiving humanitarian aid, which was incomparable with the amount publicized, at the same time as our country's economy was still working fairly effectively and there were still no grounds to talk of the need for humanitarian aid. It is symptomatic that this humanitarian aid was delivered in USAF military transport aircraft.

2. Organization of mass rallies, marches, and demonstrations, and the civilian population's opposition. We saw all this in Tbilisi, Vilnius, Riga, and Moscow, when, given enough opportunities, the state power effectively connived at the taking of antistate ideas to the masses at these events.

3. Propaganda. This is the main method of conducting psychological operations. Various devices are used in propaganda. I will mention those whereby examples are encountered practically every day: demagogic statements, the pinning of labels, the shifting of responsibility, the substitution of concepts, insinuations.

Any form of combat operations presupposes the existence of the appropriate men and equipment. The U.S. and NATO armies have special units and subunits for these purposes. Apart from army components, organs found in other state structures which formally belong to civilian organs but which in fact regularly participate in carrying out the military leadership's missions are widely used. Overall management of psychological operations,

especially on a strategic scale, is exercised by the country's supreme state leadership, and the supreme military authorities are engaged in directly controlling and planning them, which is reflected in the relevant documents containing regulations.

Television and radio broadcasting, the production of movie and video output, and the press are primarily used as the media for conducting psychological operations.

The result, comrade officers, can be summarized as follows: There exists a full-scale theory and practice of preparing and conducting psychological operations as a separate type of combat operations with various aims, including strategic aims. I must remind you that strategic aims are clearly defined: They are aims which make it possible to achieve political results, specifically the devastation of an enemy's state. The very fact that strategic psychological operations exist in the U.S. and NATO regulations signifies the acknowledgment that this type of combat operation is capable of autonomously achieving political results. This is essentially the acknowledgment of the possibility of waging psychological warfare.

A comparison of the foregoing with our actual reality leaves no doubt—this war is already under way against our country. Yes, a foreign army is not yet on our territory and our Army is not conducting combat operations using traditional types of weapons against an enemy's regular units—but all the signs of this war are evident.

The existence of a geopolitically and economically explicable aim of conducting it, an aim which is achieved by forcible means, despite the will and interests of the country's population. [sentence as published] The fact that this aim exists is confirmed by the USSR's destruction, which was unacceptable to most of the country's population—which follows from the results of the 17 March 1991 referendum—and which was achieved by forcible means, because these actions contradicted the Constitution and all the country's other legislative acts. The aims of any war are not, as a rule, openly declared, while the aims of psychological war are concealed and disguised by various demagogic statements, for example, talk of "common human values," "the need to enter world civilization," "totalitarianism," and so on; but they are revealed in practice during the process of waging it. The aims of the war being waged against our motherland have become clear—to destroy the state, to capture its territory, and to exploit raw material and labor resources.

Single-minded destruction of the economy. This is being done not by means of the direct destruction of enterprises by weapons but through disorganization and even by means of the direct establishment of foreign control over enterprises, which is a form of capture.

The occupation of the country's territory. This is being achieved through the purchase of its land and real estate. Even now a considerable proportion of real estate has

been bought up by foreign representatives. All we have to do to see this for ourselves is go down Nevskiy Prospekt [main street in St. Petersburg]. If the law allowing the free sale of land which is being assiduously pushed through is adopted, this process will snowball. This is also a form of capturing territory. The last time it was used on a large scale was during the period of Africa's colonialization, when whole islands and vast territories were bought up from local princelings for a string of beads and a mirror. Our land is now being bought up for foreign finery and transatlantic swill—a complete analogy.

The single-minded destruction of the country's military potential. This was discussed at the first All-Army Officers' Assembly. Since that time the situation has only deteriorated.

There is one question left to answer—who exactly is the enemy? The answer is obvious—it is the United States, because only this state has received almost all the fruits of our country's destruction and achieved virtual world domination. The U.S. strike force in this war was the "fifth column" in our country—the corrupt top echelons of the nomenklatura, smooth operators in the shadow economy, and simply mercenary people who are selling out their motherland in return for a good account in a foreign bank, a private car, a luxury apartment, and a dacha. Consciously or otherwise—it is not fundamentally important—Defense Minister P. Grachev has effectively headed the "fifth column" in the Armed Forces.

We have lost the first stage of the war. Why? The reason for the defeat is that the authority organizing the nation—the supreme leadership—made up the very same "fifth column." It used all its powers to prevent professionals from the military environment organizing retaliatory actions, although it has long been known that military professionals are operating on the other side. There could simply be no organized resistance. The devastation of our country proceeded systematically, without resistance. Most of the country's population are now starting to realize this. Officers must also draw a conclusion from this: There is nothing that leads us to suppose that the new political leaders will be able to organize victory. They are incapable of organizing the repulsion of aggression. The actions of parties and movements can only ensure victory and bring it closer. Direct organization and control must be carried out by people who know how to give and take orders, who know all the ins and outs of military confrontation—that is, you and I!

People will try to prevent us from organizing the necessary actions, first of all by denying in every possible way the fact of aggression and the fact that a war is being waged. However, no documents are needed if bombs rain down on our cities, as in 1941, when the treacherous enemy attacked without declaring war; just like now—although war has not been officially declared, "information bombs" are nevertheless raining down on our heads, they are destroying our industry and the Armed Forces,

they have already dismembered the country, and the enemy has entered its territory.... Of course, it is extremely difficult to identify the actual fact of this new form of aggression. It arose as a result of the nuclear stalemate, when it became clear that it was impossible to allow a confrontation between two superpowers—the USSR and the United States—involving the use of traditional types of weapons. So other types were then brought into play. These weapons which were used against our country and which led to its destruction were informational-psychological weapons.

I have devoted so much time and attention in my report to proving the case of the aggression being conducted against us because confirmation and acceptance of this by our current assembly **radically changes the nature, intensity, and thrust of the officer community united in us, and also changes the attitude shown toward us by both state-patriotic and antistate sociopolitical forces.** This also determines our immediate goal: sharply strengthening and intensifying the activity of all All-Army Officers' Assembly structures from top to bottom on the basis of resolving the task of organizing the country's defense in the light of the aggression being waged against it in the shape of psychological, information, and intellectual warfare. Many factors show that this goal is attainable for us.

The overwhelming majority of healthy social forces are beginning to realize that we are talking about repulsing aggression and preserving the state, and, in this connection, they are ready to support and already are supporting the officer community, which stands above party interests and discord and on a firm state-patriotic position. Mutual understanding with representatives of the church and the Cossacks is improving.

The irreversible processes which have begun (the sharp reduction in food production, inflation, and the looming threat of mass unemployment) are inevitably sharply consolidating society around those who will really act to preserve the state rather than to further narrow party interests and get "their team" into power.

The planned actions aimed at splitting the officer corps are becoming less effective (inflation and the unemployment suffered by family members and relatives are neutralizing the pay supplements which the president is currently issuing out of fear of the officers. The mass reduction of the Army at a time of burgeoning unemployment will leave officers in dire straits, the housing question will become academic, and career development will lose all meaning in the context of the collapse and destruction of the Armed Forces's combat readiness).

Thanks to the courage and loyalty to the oath shown by many honest officers it has been possible, despite all the efforts of the treacherous command, to preserve the necessary forces and materiel capable of inflicting irreparable damage on any aggressor. This still virtually rules out any direct armed interference.

Thus, thanks to the resistance of the most conscientious section of the population, including some of the officer corps, it has been possible to undermine the timetable for the implementation of the aggressors' plans—as a result of which Russia has not yet been destroyed. And all the necessary conditions for inflicting a strategic defeat on the aggressor have come to fruition, primarily by utilizing the methods which they are employing against us—that is, without using armed interference in the generally accepted sense of traditional weapons systems.

How is the situation forecast to develop?

The current All-Army Officers' Assembly has finally disavowed the enemy's plans and methods, which has predetermined the strong opposition to them. Under the conditions thereby being created, when the opportunities for using informational-psychological operations and political methods to independently resolve tasks and achieve set goals are being practically exhausted, the strong-arm or "big trouble" options remain the last generally recognized *modus operandi*. The latter could be provoked under one of the following guises: actions of natural forces (an epidemic, harvest failure, or major accident with an ensuing environmental disaster); actions by internal social forces (mass unrest, separatism, civil war); and actions by external forces (military threat).

A system of unleashing distracting conflict situations that affect the interests of the general public (around the Constitution, the rights of various power structures and social organs, and so forth) on any issue with no direct bearing on the theme of informational-intellectual and psychological warfare and its aims and consequences may be used as a delaying tactic to buy time to prepare for new actions and to promote still further the strategic weakening of Russia, which is currently happening at a catastrophic rate.

The fact that in the overwhelming majority of USSR territories the population is suffering from the consequences of the Union's collapse and from the consequences of the external aggression that is under way to an even greater extent than on Russian territory—and is increasingly aware of it—could be of great importance for the development of events. That is why real success in repelling this aggression and in normalizing the situation in Russia would mean, on the one hand, the immediate end of the road for many regimes and clans that until recently were part of the united party nomenclatura elite of the USSR, and, on the other hand, the beginning of the restoration of the USSR. Yesterday's "office colleagues" and companions in treachery will obviously cooperate in providing, on the one hand, as much support as they can in helping each other to put down their own peoples and, on the other, in artificially inciting and provoking conflicts between their own peoples and republics. The cooperation between Yeltsin and Shevardnadze is a vivid and well-known example of this.

This analysis of the situation and prediction for its development allow us to define the tasks of the officer corps and the organizational activity of All-Army Officers' Assembly and Officers' Union structures:

- taking upon themselves (at a time of open treachery by the top military command) responsibility for organizing the defense of the country against aggression conducted using methods of psychological and informational-intellectual warfare, they must ensure an organizational standard of activity in All-Army Officers' Assembly structures that is equal to the task;
- they must organize a system of effective measures (through the Supreme Soviet, the Prosecutor's Office, security organs, the mass media, and so forth) to immediately remove P. Grachev from the post of defense minister and appoint in his place a real patriot and professional—V. Achalov (rather than some new "agent of influence"); until this demand is met the All-Army Officers' Assembly must assume the function of organizing resistance to external aggression in accordance with the situation. Under these conditions, failure to carry out orders and directives from All-Army Officers' Assembly organs should be seen as aiding and abetting traitors and the enemies of the fatherland with all the ensuing consequences;
- they must take priority measures to organize the country's defense against this new form of aggression—in the informational-intellectual and psychological spheres—to which end study courses should be organized for officers at all levels with manuals and other materials on psychological warfare, and priority measures implemented to organize resistance to the enemy; the social structure of Armed Forces personnel and of every man in his own subunit, unit, and combined unit should be analyzed, their receptiveness to propaganda and psychological operations assessed, and the most effective ways and means of exerting influence of an informational nature clarified; the makeup and potential of hostile media should be assessed and, where possible, the specific organizers of enemy psychological operations unmasked at local level;
- they must organize the neutralization of possible strong-arm, unconstitutional operations—primarily those regularly threatened by the president; they must hold lessons in units and subunits on questions of the law to explain not only the well-known fact that the president automatically loses his powers under Article 121 Paragraph 6 of the Constitution in the event of his carrying out an action aimed against the Constitution or constitutional organs, but also the duties of every serviceman that stem from this;
- they must organize within a very short period of time courses of instruction for the leaders of particularly dangerous industrial and other facilities, sanitary and epidemiological services, and civil defense on the prevention of sabotage, and achieve the adoption of

preventive measures and the stepping up of controls; they must organize help for the countryside as far as possible; in conjunction with Ministry of Internal Affairs organs and other structures they must put a stop to cases of foodstuffs being exported, spoiled, or destroyed;

- they must carry out preventive work and resolutely put a stop to actions by any persons, groups, or organizations designed to provoke mass unrest, separatism, interethnic strife, or clashes on religious grounds;
- they must intensify existing contacts and restore broken contacts between servicemen in all the armies that have emerged from the destroyed Soviet Army;
- they must oppose any initiatives by the executive authorities to hold opinion polls, votes, or other events to justify their actions in the name of public opinion until such time as the executive authorities provide the necessary amount of conveniently scheduled airtime on TV channels to regularly familiarize the population with the principles and methods of psychological and informational-intellectual warfare and with an assessment of the current situation in the light of this;
- they must organize at all levels of the All-Army Officers' Assembly groups of people responsible for resolving each of the aforementioned tasks and establishing "vertical" ties between them.

In conclusion, I would like to stress my firm conviction that our struggle, which is based on the realities of the day, will be a success. The major events in the entire current period of struggle (23 February and 9 May) were organized under the leadership of the Officers' Union, and even the reactionary Moscow authorities were defenseless in the face of them. The people followed the officers. The All-Army Officers' Assembly and Officers' Union have a place of honor in all the largest opposition coordinating structures. Thousands of honest officers and top professionals in all spheres, including the psychological warfare sphere, are already providing intellectual, organizational, and business support in an organized fashion, which has to a considerable extent as yet prevented the final collapse of the Armed Forces, a foreign invasion, civil war, and the destruction of Russia. Our ranks are growing apace, and there has been a sharp increase in appeals from local level—particularly in recent weeks. This inspires confidence that the bulk of the officer corps has already woken up and recognized its duty. Honor and glory to those who were among the first to join the struggle, who realized before the others just what constitutes loyalty to the oath today, and who were able in an unequal struggle to restrain the enemy, making it possible to rouse and organize the officer corps! The vast majority of these officers, generals, and warrant officers are as yet unknown, but will very soon be crowned with the people's recognition and glory. Victory will be ours! **For Country, Honor, and Dignity!**

Buran Space Project Abandoned Due to Lack of Funds

LD3006175293 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Excerpt] [Correspondent Bezyayev] Natalya, can you hear me?

[Announcer] Yes, I can hear you.

[Bezyayev] I have some sensational, but very sad news to break. Why do I call it sad? Because the news I am going to tell you means that endless billions of rubles will henceforth be regarded as wasted. Hear what the chief designer had to say about this.

[Begin recording Yuriy Pavlovich Semenov, chief designer of space rocket systems] Funds are just not available: This year's funding is about 1 percent of the previous figure. I told the last meeting of the state commission about the Buran system. Work on the Buran system has been completely finished. Tests have been carried out. But because of inadequate funding, we decided at a meeting of the council of chief designers to halt work on Buran. In other words, work has stopped. The rocket is ready. Buran is ready. Even so, we have been forced to make this decision. We have forwarded the relevant documents, a message about this, to our leadership. [end recording]

[Bezyayev] So, as you heard, Russia's Buran space project has been abandoned to all intents and purposes. This is sad news because thousands of people will lose their jobs. Worst of all, the money which has been spent on this project will have been wasted.

What concerns journalists and everybody else most of all is the future of the cosmodrome itself. Some light may be shed on this today because Sergey Aleksandrovich Tereshchenko, chairman of Kazakhstan's government, flew here today. As I transmit this report, we are awaiting the arrival of a high-level Russian delegation headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets. Talks are scheduled to be held today, although they are billed as a conference.

Nevertheless, awkward questions will be raised. As you have heard, the greatest problem at the moment is not so much the need for a political decision as the lack of finance. We are losing priceless manpower, we are losing priceless equipment. We have to think of tomorrow and not just live for today, no matter how difficult things may be. I cannot say what Russia and Kazakhstan will agree on. Everybody realizes that the cosmodrome is needed. That is why these people have flown here. [passage omitted]

Pacific Fleet Ready To Declare Bankruptcy

LD3006163893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] The Pacific Fleet is ready to declare itself financially bankrupt. The command of the fleet has

announced its intention to appeal to the Russian government, in view of the very grave financial position in which sailors and their families find themselves today. Only 2 percent of the fleet's monetary fund requirement for June has been secured, a RIA correspondent was told at the press center of the the Pacific Fleet. Pay and allowances are not being paid to the servicemen.

Northern Fleet Inspection Tracks Problems Noted by Grachev

PM3006154593 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 1

[Vladimir Gundarov report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "Russian Federation Defense Ministry Inspection of Northern Fleet"]

[Text] Severomorsk—The main aim of the group of generals and officers of main and central directorates of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense which is visiting the Northern Fleet, according to Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, deputy minister of defense, who heads it, is to assist in eliminating the shortcomings indicated by Army General Pavel Grachev during his visit to the Northern Fleet in March of this year.

This relates, above all, to resolving questions of ship repairs, the fleet's preparation for winter, the state of military discipline, and the provision of facilities for personnel.

Officials Visit 'Secret' Military Testing Ground

LD3006230093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Mikhail Ponomarev] Andrey Kokoshin, Russian first deputy defense minister, invited some members of the government and parliament today to visit a secret testing ground near Moscow where unique military exercise took place. By this measure the military tried yet again to draw the attention of the country's leadership to the problem of the Army's combat equipment.

[Correspondent A. Ilyin] During the exercise those attending it were shown the latest specimens of combat equipment which can be used by troops and mobile forces. These include new landing and infantry combat vehicles, the T-90 super-modern tank which is capable of understanding that it is being aimed at and taking evasive action. Experimental vehicles of the Hummer type for mobile forces made at the (Gorkiy) factory and new electronic warfare gear capable of removing projectiles equipped with proximity fuse from their trajectory were shown for the first time.

But all this unique hardware was designed by the former USSR's defense complex. Today, in conditions of strictly limited finances, defense orders are of little profit for

enterprises, and it is not known whether this equipment will be manufactured. For instance, the latest Ka-50 helicopter, which caused a sensation at Le Bourget, has come into service but no orders have yet been placed.

[Begin recording] [Ilyin] What conclusion can you draw, as member of the government, with regard to the results of the exercise and the show of new equipment and armaments?

[O. Soskovets, Russian first vice premier] There is only one conclusion: The government's obligations to the Army must be fulfilled in order to ensure the combat readiness of troops.

[Ilyin] Has the government shown understanding for the Defense Ministry?

[A. Kokoshin, Russian deputy defense minister] In my view, we are finding understanding. [end recording]

Problems With Destruction of Chemical Weapons Viewed

OW0107060793 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0527 GMT 18 June 93

[Report by Igor Deryugin from Transrosefir's "Saratovskaya Mozaika" program]

[Excerpts] The next chapter of our program will tell about a certain aspect that had remained top secret until very recently. Lately, it underwent such a drastic change that today, even the people most familiar with the issue are unsure about a lot of things about it. Many shots appearing in this item were filmed in spring, but the subject has not become any more lucid since then.

A place called Shikhany is located one and a half hours from Saratov. It is the former property of Count Orlov, and its history under Soviet rule was a peculiar one. The Soviet leadership adopted a series of secret documents in 1925 that have guided the fate of Shikhany up until this very moment. Since then, the lives of all residents of this quiet place have been connected somehow to chemical weapons.

The first tests were carried out here by the Germans, who were the forerunners in this field in the 1920's. A top secret agreement on the creation of a testing site with well-equipped laboratories and a solid scientific and industrial foundation was signed with them. The Germans built 13 different facilities, which remained intact after the joint treaty was dissolved in the 1930's and the Germans subsequently departed.

Today, very little in Shikhany remains from the German period. Shikhany has become a huge military-scientific complex, which includes an institute where new chemical armaments were developed, a military testing site where they were tested, and living quarters with a population of 15,000. Only recently has the veil of secrecy begun to slip from this place, and it had to do with the new twist in the fate of Shikhany. A convention

banning chemical weapons was signed by representatives of more than a 100 states in Paris on 13 January 1993. Russia's obligations were outlined in the state draft program for the destruction of chemical weapons, and Shikhany was mentioned there. However, the military personnel and the scientists working here have more questions about the program for the destruction of chemical weapons—which was sent back for a great deal of additional work after parliamentary hearings—then they have ready answers. [passage omitted] [Video shows a device in a laboratory and an officer operating it.]

This is an experimental device that is used to develop one of the possible technologies for processing lewisite—a toxic substance that blisters skin. However, this is only an experiment, which demands a great deal of time. Experts admit that there are no tried technologies today. A stage-by-stage processing of lewisite into pure arsenic, which promises significant profits, is the target of very intense research. A kilogram of pure arsenic is valued at \$2,500 on the international market. The taste of arsenic dollars can make one dizzy, but it goes without saying that the commercial factor should never obscure the ecological aspects and the problems of safety. Technologies for destroying other types of chemical weapons such as mustard gas, mixtures of mustard gas and lewisite, and organic phosphorus substances are even less developed because they promise no financial gain. Therefore, forecasts made by Aleksandr Kochergin, director of the State Institute for Technology of Organic Synthesis and one of the most competent people in this sphere, are not very optimistic. [passage omitted]

Strategic and military problems are closely connected to the strictly civilian ones. After all, Shikhany is also a town where 15,000 people live. [passage omitted]

Today, the town is in disastrous shape. Most of the buildings here are wooden barracks, where inhabitants still cook their food on kerosene stoves. The administration of Shikhany is fighting to obtain for the town the status of a site for developing technologies for destroying toxic substances. This should provide the residents with a system of compensations and privileges for living in this special zone.

Economic Issues

Specialists Arrested for Selling Isotopes Abroad

PM3006150593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Jun 93 p 1

["Own Information" report under the rubric "Radioactive Swindle of the Century": "We Are Trading. Isotopes. Secretly"]

[Text] There have long been rumors about this, but only yesterday did PRAVDA receive confirmation that new-found businessmen are busily selling radioactive isotopes abroad. We have learned from reliable sources that a group of specialists who took part in production and

sold rare earth elements such as thallium, palladium, rubidium, and others has been arrested.

According to our information, the "businessmen" came unstuck because of their excessive appetites. Foreign cars were probably not their biggest purchases. Many of the arrestees have sizable hard currency accounts in foreign banks: After all, they were trading a "commodity" whose price is beyond even gold. So far no one knows how great the damage caused to Russia is, but it is unquestionably huge.

The "radioactive swindle of the century" was initiated in the closed city of Sverdlovsk-45. Obviously, it is not ordinary lathe operators who handle isotopes. Some of the 12 arrestees have academic titles. The "Stabiks" isotope stabilization center, whose founders include high-ranking staffers of the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy, is implicated in the affair.

Rules on Sale of Export Revenue Changed

PM3006154993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Ivan Zhagel report: "Foreign Currency Compulsory Sales Regulations Changed"]

[Text] On 28 June the Central Bank of Russia issued a telegram stating that the regulations for compulsory sales of foreign currency are to be altered as of the beginning of next month. Now all participants in foreign economic activity will have to sell 50 percent of their export earnings on one of the foreign exchanges within seven working days of the funds being paid into their personal accounts.

Strictly speaking, there used to be a rule obliging enterprises to sell half of their export earnings. But 30 percent of them were bought by the Central Bank and became part of the Bank of Russia's foreign reserves. Only 20 percent of the foreign currency was sold on the free market. Now the full 50 percent will reach the market.

This is a substantial change. To all intents and purposes it means that, as of 1 July, the supply of foreign currency offered for sale on the country's foreign exchanges will more than double. And this could be a major support for the ruble and boost its rate.

And the fact that there will not now be any compulsory sales of export earnings to the Bank of Russia in no way means that the Central Bank is withdrawing entirely from trading on the foreign exchanges. It will be present there, as will its money. After all, according to existing information, over the past year the Bank of Russia has built up more than \$1 billion in its reserves. This is entirely adequate to carry out currency intervention if necessary and thereby smooth out exchange rate fluctuations on the foreign exchanges—something which affects all participants in foreign economic activity.

Incidentally, after selling foreign currency to the Central Bank, exporters would spend several weeks waiting for the corresponding ruble sums to be paid into their accounts. During this period their capital was effectively frozen. When selling foreign currency on the exchanges, enterprises will receive their money almost instantaneously.

In the new Central Bank regulations attention is also drawn to the fact that the deadline for the compulsory sale of export earnings has now been halved—from 14 to seven days. This will undoubtedly require more efficient work on the part both of the exporting enterprises, and the commercial banks authorized to sell foreign currency. And they have obtained additional opportunities to this end.

On the eve of the introduction of the new regulations the Bank of Russia has opened several more foreign exchanges in different parts of the country. There are now six in all—in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Rostov, the Urals Exchange in Yekaterinburg, the Siberian Exchange in Novosibirsk, and the Asia-Pacific Exchange in Vladivostok. Now enterprises will not have to travel the length and breadth of the country to buy or sell foreign currency.

Grain Harvest To Exceed 105 Million Tonnes

LD0107093593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] The gross grain harvest in the Russian Federation will be at least 105 million tonnes this year. The prediction was made to the Agropress agency by Leonid Cheshinskiy, president of Roskhleboprodukt [Russian grain products], the federal contract corporation. He believes that the situation as regards grain production in Russia is developing reasonably well, on the whole. Given the residue in state buffer stocks left over from previous years, it can be boldly asserted that supplies of grain and grain products for the needs of the public and animal husbandry enterprises can be provided in a guaranteed, regular and dependable way. To stimulate the sale of the new harvest to federal and regional stocks it has been decided to raise the recommended initial procurement prices for 1993, which were last agreed as recently as February. In particular, the state will pay 40-45,000 rubles [R] for a tonne of barley, depending on its condition, and R35,000 for a tonne of rye. As for wheat, an average price of R45,000 per tonne is being set for class 3 grain, the most prevalent in Russia. Between R50,000 and R70,000 will be paid for higher-grade wheat.

However Leonid Cheshinskiy, the head of Roskhleboprodukt, added that even the new prices will not be set in stone but will be amended to take account of coefficients and correlations which will be set each month, depending on the way inflationary processes develop.

Finance Ministry's Third-Quarter Prognosis Published

PM0107092793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Russian Ministry of Finances report: "Inflation Falls, Ruble Consolidates, Budget Deficit Decreases. On Russia's Current Financial Policy (Forecast for the Third Quarter)"—as part of "Delo" supplement]

[Text] 1. Analysis of the economic situation enables the conclusion to be drawn that in the next three months the country's financial situation could improve and the inflation index will fall to under 15 percent per month.

2. The Central Bank of Russia's interest rate is set to increase to approximately 150-160 percent, drawing near to market rates. An increase in the attractiveness of the ruble and an intensified demand for rubles are forecast, as is a tightening of government and Central Bank policy on trade and the provision of services for foreign currency (dollarization).

3. The rubledollar exchange rate has entered the stage of relative stabilization and will probably remain at the level of around 1,100 rubles [R] to the dollar. By the end of the year large sums of hard currency are expected to come onto the market, which will enable the exchange rate to draw somewhat nearer to purchasing power parity. Up to \$14 billion have been accumulated in bank accounts in Russia, and there is a trend toward a slowdown in the flight of capital.

4. The Credit Commission has decided to fix the net growth of centralized credits in the third quarter at the level of R4 trillion, that is to say, to keep it in relative terms at the level of the second quarter. The limits of the second quarter have been met, both in the budget deficit section, and for other forms of credit. The growth of credits was almost half the inflation rate.

5. It is planned to maintain the budget deficit at the level of 10 percent of GDP, gradually increasing the issue of securities to finance it. In connection with the president's edict on certain measures to combat inflation, the budget is expected to be tight but realistic, that is, it will be implemented far better than in the first six months.

6. Better implementation of the budget, the restriction of inflation, a possible decrease in the amount of hard currency subject to obligatory sale, and the abolition of the quota system on a number of export items will somewhat check the growth of nonpayments.

At the same time enterprises are recommended to reduce deliveries where there is a risk of nonpayment, to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the law on bankruptcies, to hire debt-collecting firms, to change service banks [obsluzhivayushchiye banki], to sell off surplus stocks and assets, to define the optimum number of employees, and to seek a more profitable range of goods, and also to look for investors and partners and for access to the external market.

Prospects for Fuel, Energy Complex Development Viewed

LD0107102093 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0956 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow July 1 TASS—Russia's oil complex is in the throes of a crisis. Oil output dropped within four years by 170 million tonnes, or by 30 per cent. The lowering of the output of oil will continue, holds Yuriy Shafranik, Russian minister of fuel and energy. Nevertheless, if there are favourable circumstances, the functioning of the oil complex can be stabilised in 1995.

A vast programme of technical overhauling of oil refineries with increasing the degree of the processing of raw material from 63 to 75 per cent is planned. The minister said that the output of gas will be increased mainly through developing gas deposits in the Yamal peninsula, the north of western Siberia. As many as 25 deposits have already been discovered there. The annual output of gas in the region is to be brought to 100 billion cubic metres a year within a few years.

Although there are clear prospects for increasing the gas output in decades ahead, other branches of the fuel and energy complex, above all the coal industry, should also be restructured, Shafranik said. He believes that the main energy source for Russia in future will be coal of the Kuznetsk basin and of the Kansk-Achens fuel and energy complex (the Krasnoyarsk territory).

From the beginning of the 21st century, the main base of the fuel and energy complex will begin to be switched from western to eastern Siberia. Gas reserves in the Krasnoyarsk territory and the Irkutsk region will make it possible to extract up to 30 billion cubic metres of gas in the area by the year 2010. It will be possible to supply gas to industrial centres that are now in the area of ecological disaster.

The new energy policy envisages the combination of large Siberian complexes with the use of local resources. There are no funds for the development of huge facilities and there is not likely to be any in the years ahead, Shafranik said. Because of this, small gas-turbine heat and power stations, wind-powered and geothermal stations and nuclear power plants should be vigorously developed as two thirds of Russia's territory, including the far east, north, the Transbaykalia, are in the zone of autonomous production and consumption of energy.

Aviation Industry 'Stabilization Plan' Unveiled

PM0107103793 Moscow *ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian* 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 5

[Report from INTERFAX, POSTFACTUM, RIA NOVOSTI roundup: "Planes Themselves Not Flying"]

[Text] The Russian Air Transport Department has adopted a stabilization plan for 1993.

As Air Transport Department Director Vadim Zamotin stated, in order to carry out the plan it is proposed that the following aircraft are acquired in 1993 using all sources of finance: three Il-98-300's; six Tu-204's; four Il-114's; four Il-86's; five Il-62's; 10 Yak-42's; 23 Tu-154's; 14 Il-76TD's, three An-74's; five An-32's; 129 Mi-8 helicopters; eight Mi-26's; and 10 Ka-32's. It is also planned to bring on stream the airport complex in Khabarovsk to handle 1,500 passengers an hour, the complex in Sochi handling 2,500, and the complex in Blagoveshchensk handling 400; to continue construction of airport runways and other facilities in Omsk, St. Petersburg, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Volgograd, and Novosibirsk; and to introduce additional capacity at Sheremetyevo and Domodedovo airports as well as in the cities of Vladivostok, Kaliningrad, and Nizhniy Novgorod. If all these measures are carried out, the aviation industry could reach a level of 85 billion passenger-kilometers in 1993, with profits of 100 billion rubles.

Supreme Soviet

Committee To Probe Ban on Aircraft for Khasbulatov

LD0107102393 Moscow *Radio Rossii Network in Russian* 0900 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] The Russian Parliament has instructed its Committee for Defense and Security to investigate the circumstances of the refusal to provide an aircraft to Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov for his tour of a number of regions of Russia planned for 30 June. This proposal was submitted at this morning's session of Parliament by Vladimir Isakov, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Legislation, and leader of the Russian Unity faction, the opposition bloc.

30 Jun Parliament Proceedings Detailed

Shaposhnikov, Khasbulatov Comment

LD3006153593 Moscow *Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian* 1400 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Report on Supreme Soviet session by Yevgeniy Fateyev with recorded remarks by Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, and Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, at the session]

[Text] [Fateyev] Russian members of parliament today gave Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov a rough ride. Since morning, deputies tried to endorse him in the post of secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council. He has been appointed to the post by a recent presidential decree. Sharp criticism of the former commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces was heard. At times direct insults flowed.

[Shaposhnikov] Let us leave this post unoccupied. I do not hanker after it. Let it wait till it is ready, as it were. I mean, I am leaving to take deserved rest. Well, when we are all ready, maybe I will be invited again. However, today I rest all my powers, so that... [pauses] I cannot, while occupying some post, wage a battle against these people, who brazenly and groundlessly insult here people who, how shall we put it, rendered great services in the past. I will go and will fight them as they should be fought and only after that will I be ready to occupy any state post.

[Khasbulatov] It is a very simple thing to up and go. Probably the chairman's easiest option would be to go. But if you are aware of your responsibility toward the state?

[Fateyev] Aware of the rising passions, Ruslan Khasbulatov called on deputies to postpone the confirmation of the candidacy for the post of secretary of the Security Council for a week. An hour later he, himself, upped and left the hall, offended at the fact that a number of deputies began to insist too much on the inclusion of his long-standing opponent, Mikhail Mityukov, in the list of candidates for the post of chairman of the newly created parliamentary committee on current legislation. Vladimir Isakov, leader of the opposition, was elected chairman of another new committee, in charge of constitutional legislation. At its evening sitting, having put all other matters aside, the parliament began to debate the draft law on Russia's budget for 1993.

Deputy Cited on Russians in Estonia

LD3006201793 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1739 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—On Wednesday [30 June] evening Russian People's Deputy Nikolay Medvedev addressed a session of the Russian Parliament on the situation of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia. During the visit to the Estonian Republic he headed a Russian parliamentary delegation which returned to Moscow on June 15.

Nikolay Medvedev said a new leadership of Estonia oriented to the discrimination of the Russian-speaking population of the republic. [sentence as received] Particularly, he noted that laws on "elections", "bodies of self-administration", "foreigners" which have been recently adopted by the Estonian Parliament deprived the Russian-speaking population of Estonia of civic rights and violated treaties and agreements concluded between the two states.

Nikolay Medvedev stressed that he did not see ways to settle this conflict through "political methods." He announced that the Russian side worked out measures to exert economic influence on Estonia and appealed a

number of international organisations (the United Nations and CSCE) to stop the violation of human rights in Estonia.

'Bewildering' Revised Budget Scored

PM0107093593 Moscow *ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian* 30 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksey Vorobyev report: "Sixth Session of Supreme Soviet: Soviet of Republic: Government Preparing To Make Us Go Hungry"]

[Text] At the morning session of the Soviet of the Republic Veniamin Sokolov, chairman of the chamber, informed deputies that the government has presented a revised version of the budget for examination, even if it has breached all possible deadlines in the process. However, even after the initial and, for the time being, very superficial analysis, it is bewildering. Its main idea looks especially dangerous—namely, sharply cutting spending on the social sphere, abandoning wage indexation, including minimum wages, for all budget-funded employees and also the inflation-proofing [kompensirovaniye] of all pensions, which are received by 35 million Russian citizens, and all other financed payments to the population.

In short, the government is proposing to freeze the social sphere and place the very heavy burden of its clearly failed reform policy on the shoulders of an already impoverished Russian people.

It is not hard to imagine what kind of eruption of sociopolitical tension in the country such approaches could cause.

In addition, although the government functionaries have somehow managed to work out a revised budget in 1993 new prices and index-link it, in the opinion of some experts the result is clearly inadequate for the normal financing of budget-funded expenditure.

"The document which has been presented does not stand up to criticism at all," Mikhail Zakharov, chairman of the Social Policy Commission, noted. He was supported by Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Commission for the Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices: "The revised budget is so badly compiled that I fear that, despite the most strenuous work on it, parliament will not be able to remedy its defects in two or three weeks. Meanwhile payments to budget-funded sectors must begin without delay."

Thus Pochinok proposed that an appropriate Supreme Soviet decree on financing the sectors be adopted quickly, that work continue on the government draft, and that encroachments by the executive on all social payments be categorically resisted.

Fedorov on Ruble Exchange Rate

LD3006191093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] The Russian government is planning to preserve the current ruble exchange rate until autumn, to stabilize the situation in the currency market, Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov said when addressing parliament today. He also said that the expenditure in the updated budget of the Russian Federation for 1993 proposed by the government might reach 40 trillion rubles, which is more than double the figure in the original budget draft. In addition, Boris Fedorov said that this year the deficit of the updated federal budget of the Russian Federation might amount to 13 percent of Gross National Product. The finance minister called this level acceptable, however, he reminded people of the danger of crossing the critical level when inflation becomes irreversible. This was a RIA report.

Reformists Campaign for Khasbulatov's Resignation

LD3006133693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1234 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—Reformist lawmakers from the Coalition for Reforms Group began a campaign to make Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov resign.

They called on their colleagues to express no-confidence to the speaker and said 80 people's deputies have responded in the affirmative.

Messages supporting the no-confidence vote continue to arrive, the Coalition for Reforms said on Wednesday [30 June].

Rumyantsev Issues Constitutional Commission Statement

LD3006180993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] [Announcer] Now on the air on Mayak Radio is Aleksandr Ruvinskiy from the Russian Supreme Soviet. Go ahead.

[Ruvinskiy] Yes, I have a report which is fairly important and so I asked to come on the air at an unscheduled time. As our listeners know, a statement has been released by People's Deputy Oleg Rumyantsev, executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission. I think this statement is of fundamental significance for the whole future constitutional process in Russia.

I remind you that alongside the constitution, whose draft is now being elaborated in the Kremlin at the Constitutional Conference, in parallel work is being done on a draft constitution here, too, in the Supreme Soviet.

Judging by everything, one can now place on this draft a cross if not a big question mark.

Rumyantsev released a statement saying that under conditions of growing pressure from the toughly organized state parties and authorities ranked around Yeltsin, the formation of an irreconcilable counterweight in the Supreme Soviet is practically being completed. One radicalism has produced another one.

Graphic confirmation of this is entrusting the constitutional reform to the leader of the hard-line opposition. I am referring to Vladimir Isakov, who has stated the unnecessariness of the new constitution. So a paradox results, in that the parliamentary committee for constitutional reform, for constitutional legislation, is instructed to be headed by a man who considers it impossible to adopt a new constitution at all in the present conditions.

The statement by Rumyantsev also says that the Supreme Soviet has rejected the possibility of creating a new committee around the working group of the Constitutional Commission, with the cadres and traditions it has accumulated in three years of work:

You, the parliament, have passed up an opportunity to entrust the cause of reform to centrist hands, having chosen a line leading to further confrontation of the two combatant parties to the detriment of the interests of society. The lack of trust essentially expressed by parliament towards the working group and executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission put in question the continuation of our activity on a difficult consensus and the incorporation of new foundations into the constitutional edifice and deprive it of significance.

In addition to all this, I remind you that Isakov is a leader of the National Salvation Front. I think our listeners are aware of the National Salvation Front's attitude to the constitutional process.

So, I hope that is the last news from parliament for today in our Panorama.

[Announcer] Yes, let us hope so, because the news is of such a scandalous nature.

[Ruvinskiy] You know, every day it gets more and more scandalous.

Deputy Wants Call For Mironov's Arrest Withdrawn

PM2906141193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 5

[Report by People's Deputy Leonid Voldov, member of the Constitutional Commission: "Authorization for Arrest of Deputy Mironov Must Be Withdrawn"]

[Text] A major catastrophe has taken place in the country. Quietly, and out of the public eye, the Supreme Soviet has authorized the arrest of a people's deputy. The

offender committed a heinous crime—he signed an “anonymous letter” to the president. This would probably have warranted a prison sentence or even execution around 300 years ago. Who knows, had the Congress been in operation instead of the Supreme Soviet, it might well have been decided to follow that example.

The Supreme Soviet authorized the arrest as a preventive measure, so to speak. An investigation has yet to be carried out, no charges have been made, and even the actual case has been initiated “as a matter of course” [“po faktu”]. But our “parliament” has already decided the deputy’s fate in advance. And I should think so, too—an anonymous letter compromising not just parliament but certain individuals, including such important figures as the Supreme Soviet chairman and the general prosecutor. So who requests the arrest? The general prosecutor himself. And who leads the sitting? The Supreme Soviet chairman. And the whole thing is so impartial that they simply deprive the accused deputy of the opportunity to speak. Is there really any need to discuss such a trifling matter at all—after all, it is only the arrest of a deputy.

To intern the chairman himself or the general prosecutor would be another matter. And it is precisely this point which Deputy Mironov’s letter to the president addressed.

Imagine that two neighbors, Ivanov and Petrov, could not get along in their common apartment. Ivanov writes to the big chief: I request that Petrov be imprisoned as a harmful element. What happens next? Nothing. It will be explained to Ivanov that such things are not done, and he will be rebuked. But it could be different. Imagine that Petrov is a prosecutor or a militia chief. He issues orders: Institute criminal proceedings and imprison Ivanov for this illegal letter. Then a scandal would ensue. Any such prosecutor or chief would be dismissed for abuse of his official position. But is it possible to dismiss the Supreme Soviet?

By law, a suspect can be arrested if he constitutes a danger to the public, if he has committed a heinous crime, or if, through his actions, he may assist in concealing the evidence. Is Mironov dangerous, when all he did was appeal in writing to a legitimate power? Nevertheless, even before a preliminary investigation whose outcome, on the general prosecutor’s own admission, is not yet known, the Supreme Soviet has seen fit to give its approval for the arrest. The subtext here can hardly be doubted. It is a political arrest. It is the first breeze heralding the onset of a massive storm. You know, it is no coincidence that this institute was preceded by other feuds with irritating deputies. The Mass Media Committee, which was opposed to the Supreme Soviet chairman, was driven out, and the very same threat has been voiced in respect of the Human Rights Committee. Then there was the personnel reshuffle in the Committee for Economic Reform. Now Mironov’s arrest. And a showdown with the “new opposition”—Ryabov, Stepashin—is already on the horizon.... Who’s next?

So, are we building democracy, or are we, by hook or by crook, returning the country to Stalinist times? As a citizen, I am deeply concerned. As a deputy, I would like to appeal to my colleagues: Is it not worth revisiting the Mironov issue? Suspend the validity of the decree sanctioning the arrest. Set up a regular deputies’ commission, and, with due account of its recommendations, adopt a well-balanced decision, so to speak.

Further on 26 Jun Presidium Session

PM3006162193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[“Parliamentary Press Service” report: “Session of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium”]

[Text] A routine session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium was held at the House of the Soviets 26 June under the chairmanship of Ruslan Khasbulatov.

The Presidium members heard and discussed a report from A. Pochinok, chairman of the Commission for the Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices, on the revised draft budget for 1993.

A report on the results of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet delegation’s visit to Turkey was examined.

In accordance with parliamentary procedure the following draft legislative acts were examined and submitted to the standing commissions of the chambers and committees of the Supreme Soviet, the president of the Russian Federation, and other organs of legislative initiative for their conclusions:

—the Russian Federation laws “On Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Law ‘On Payment for Land’”; “On the Procedure for the Provision of Military and Civilian Personnel of the Russian Federation for Participation in UN Operations for the Maintenance or Restoration of International Peace and Security”; “On the Inauguration of the Jubilee Medal ‘The 50th Anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945’”; “On the Social Protection and Rehabilitation of Citizens Subjected to the Effects of Radiation on the Territory of Altay Kray As a Result of Nuclear Tests at the Semipalatinsk Range”; “On Additions to the Russian Federation Law ‘On Excise Duties’”; “On Amendments and Additions to the Russian Federation Law ‘On the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation’”; “On Political Parties”; “On the State Protection of Judges and Workers of the Law Enforcement and Control Organs”; “On the Protection of Witnesses, Aggrieved Persons, and Other People Assisting in Criminal Proceedings”; “On Official Inventions of Usable Models and Industrial Prototypes”; and “On the Protection of Lake Baykal”;

—the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees "On the Ratification of the Consular Convention Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Poland"; "On the Ratification of the Agreement on Joint Activity in Regard to Humanitarian Aid Received From Abroad"; "On the Recommendatory Legislative Act of the Interparliamentary Assembly of CIS Member States 'On the Principles of the Regulation of Information Relations in the States Party to the Interparliamentary Assembly'"; "On Increasing the Staffs and Establishing the Staff Numbers of Organs of the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office"; and "On Measures To Eliminate the Aftermath of the Accident at the Siberian Chemical Combine in Tomsk Oblast (Tomsk-7 City) on 6 April 1993."

Regional Affairs

Rutskoy Arrives in Voronezh for Youth Conference

LD3006172293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1445 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Starukhin]

[Text] Voronezh, 30 Jun—Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy arrived in Voronezh today. He was invited by the Voronezh Oblast council of youth organizations to take part in the work of a scientific-practical conference "The oblast as a subject of the Federation," which opens on 1 July. Young politicians, representing youth movements and sections of parties of various political orientation have also invited their colleagues from other oblasts of the Central Chernozem region. The oblast soviet of people's deputies has, accordingly, invited the chairmen of the soviets of these oblasts to take part in the conference.

Aleksandr Rutskoy today visited the Voronezh aviation production association, where he learned about the problems facing the enterprise, its output, and the aviation constructors' latest model, the Il-96M airbus, which has just undergone the first stage of its flight trials. He then visited the "Elektonika" workshops, one of the largest associations in Voronezh, which produces video and audio tape recorders.

Criticizes Government Policy

LD0107122893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1144 GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Starukhin]

[Text] Voronezh, 1 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—Meetings between Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and the residents of Voronezh, a city in southern Russia, are taking place amid sharp criticism of the policy being pursued at the moment by the Russian leadership.

The gist of the vice president's theses boils down to this: Russian statehood has disintegrated; a new constitution

should not be adopted in haste; early elections of a president and a body of deputies are essential.

Asked if Rutskoy intends to contest the post of president, he replied: "If I am put forward as a candidate I will run."

Yeltsin Sends Greetings to Finno-Ugric Festival

LD3006121793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1117 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 30 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has sent a message of greetings to participants in the Fourth International Folklore Festival of Finno-Ugric Peoples which is taking place in city of Khanty-Mansiysk. The message circulated by the president's press office says:

"I am sending cordial greetings to participants and guests in the Fourth International Folklore Festival of Finno-Ugric Peoples who have come together in Siberia—the historic homeland of many peoples of Europe and Asia. I regret that a busy schedule does not let me attend the festival.

"Wisdom, talent and experience of generations are embodied in the original popular creative endeavour, in good national traditions and lore. I am convinced that this turn of the Finno-Ugric peoples to the common sources of their intellectual wealth can help preserve and multiply cultural values which have been accumulated through the centuries and facilitate mutual understanding and trust between people of different nationalities.

"Your festival is being held in a U.N. international year of indigenous peoples of the world. It testifies to the fact that the life-giving sources of the people's creativity are not running out, and the people's desire to preserve their identity and lead a full-blooded national life and make progressive development is strengthening and forging ahead. This desire finds full support of the president and government of the Russian Federation.

"I wish you all good health, well-being and personal happiness".

Yavlinskiy Voices Intention To Run for President

PM0107142193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 93 p 1

[Boris Vishnevskiy report: "Red Square Visible From Kazan Kremlin. In Tatarstan Grigoriy Yavlinskiy States Readiness To Run for President"]

[Excerpts] Kazan—It was a strange thing—last Saturday [26 June], when the weather was ideal for picking strawberries, the people of Kazan rushed to a stuffy university auditorium. Whatever different politicians may say, they

had gathered in harmony for a political event. The name of the conference was boring—"Equal Rights and Legality." [passage omitted]

Yavlinskiy put in his promised appearance at the conference. Grigoriy Alekseyevich arrived bang on time. He spent three hours in Kazan between flights. During this period those present got acquainted not only with the author of famous programs and the leader of the Economic and Political Research Center, but with possibly the future president of Russia. Asked by your correspondent whether Kazan's guest was prepared to take on the burden of being head of state, Grigoriy Alekseyevich replied honestly that he was. That is why he will be taking part in the presidential elections. It only remains to be seen when they will be held—at what level of inflation. Grigoriy Alekseyevich drew an instructive analogy. Imagine an actor on the stage who does not know a word or even the name of the play. He is trying to pick up the lines from a dozen prompters. And there are 158 million people in the audience who need both a show and some bread.

Yavlinskiy quoted some sadly eloquent figures to describe the results of the "latest state experiment." And he concluded that the time for intermediaries, implementing reform "through their uncle," is over. He said that he found it too cramped in the prompter's booth, since he can clearly see how to create an effective economy and a new, free federation. He can see how to make the world respect the Russian national currency and make us feel that we are living in a normal, safe society.

Unlike the previous speakers, Yavlinskiy was understanding about "Tatarstan's separatism," which has been provoked by the mediocre rule of the center. He called on those present to set up a federalist party which would emerge in the provinces to defend the interests of Russia's citizens rather than the "Garden Ring" [Moscow]. Nobody—no world community—is going to give us a painkiller [nikto dlya nas ne napasetsya analgina...nikakoye mirovoye sobshchestvo], Grigoriy Alekseyevich warned. As an example he quoted the priorities of the G-7—it does not intend to promise or give money merely on the strength of the announcement of Russian reforms. It will support either privatization specifically or long-term private-sector initiatives.

Near the end of the meeting Grigoriy Alekseyevich told an instructive story. A plane crashes into a locomotive, but the pilot and the engineer avoid jail by convincing the court that at the time of the crash they had been distracted by the sight of a sinking ship. A society of total irresponsibility has exhausted all its credit. The job will be done by young, pragmatic politicians who know what they want and are prepared to keep their promises.

Yaroslavl Halts Dispatch of Militia to 'Hot Spots'

PM3006140193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Jun 93 First Edition p 8

[Mikhail Ovcharov report: "Yaroslavl Militiamen Say No to 'Hot Spots'"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—The Yaroslavl Oblast Inner Soviet has decided to suspend the Russian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] leadership's instructions to second local militia personnel to North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

The soviet was probably prompted to make this decision by the fact that two of the 50 Yaroslavl militia staffers who have been sent to "hot spots" in the North Caucasus have been lost without trace.

But, as Anatoliy Toropov, chief of the internal affairs administration said, the oblast soviet's decision for Yaroslavl militiamen to return home is not actually practicable.

Tatar Deputies 'Sharply Negative' on Conference Walkout

PM3006140593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Boris Bronshteyn report: "Kazan Not Slamming Constitutional Conference Door Behind It"]

[Text] Kazan—Sabantuy—the happiest and most popular holiday in Tatarstan, which usually gives people a chance to forget about politics—is taking place this time against the backdrop of well-known diplomatic complications. Of course, most citizens who took part in the people's celebrations enthusiastically jumped around in sacks and broke pots blindfold, as usual. But, according to eyewitnesses, there were occasional discussions on the green lawns about whether we had been too sharp in our relations with Moscow.

As is well known, the Tatar leaders issued a statement last Thursday, 24 June, about the impossibility of any further participation by the republic's representatives in the Constitutional Conference. On Friday Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, presented a text of the statement to Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian Federation President's Administration. By then the statement had been published in the local press. It stressed that the Constitution of the renewed Russian Federation should take account of existing realities. And the realities, from the standpoint of the statement's authors, are as follows: The declaration of Tatarstan's state sovereignty and its new constitution reinforced the centuries-old aspirations of the republic's peoples to acquire genuine state independence. At the same time, the statement noted, there was an obvious desire in certain political circles to ignore Tatarstan's legislative initiative and discredit the idea of a new type of federal relations.

On Saturday this statement received a sharply negative assessment at the Kazan conference of the "Equal Rights and Legality" electoral bloc, which encompasses a dozen or more democratic and federalist-oriented parties and movements. The bloc adopted a statement in response, which says that the step taken by Tatarstan's leaders was not coordinated with the republic's Supreme Soviet, much less with its people. And this was done at a time when the process of discussing the Russian Constitution had reached a decisive stage and many provisions of the future fundamental law had already been agreed.

Does this mean that all hope of a favorable political solution has been lost? Not quite. Tatar Vice President Vasilii Likhachev hinted at the Constitutional Conference that the republic, despite everything, is not slamming the conference door behind it.

"My speech was by way of explaining the statement by President Shaymiyev and Speaker Mukhametshin," Vasilii Likhachev told your IZVESTIYA correspondent on his return to Kazan, "but it was also more than that. It also included points which applied to the analysis of the entire draft Russian constitution, including such a serious issue as the question of the federal structure. In this connection I put forward two options: to include the position on Tatarstan separately in the text; or to find some kind of general norm. There are currently two legal organs with whose participation we are prepared to conduct further work on the draft—the Constitutional Arbitration Service [konstitutsionnyy arbitrazh] and the Conciliation [soglasitelnyy] Commission."

Thus it is to be hoped that the negotiating process will be continued, that it will not be like a sack race, and that—unlike Sabantuy—things will not reach the point where pots are being broken blindfold.

Tatars Oppose Participation in Constitutional Conference

LD0107105593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Today a statement of the executive committee of the World Congress of Tatars has been circulated in Kazan. It speaks about full support for the decision of the leadership of Tatarstan regarding the recall of the republic's representatives from the Constitutional Conference in Moscow. Referring to Article 61 of the new Constitution of Tatarstan, which deals with the republic's associate membership of the Russian Federation, the authors of the document believe that the further participation of the delegation in the Constitutional Conference is inexpedient. The need has been stressed to continue the talks process between Russia and Tatarstan to provide a legal basis for their inter-state relations.

Results of North Ossetia-Ingushetia Roundtable

PM0107085193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 1

[Viktor Pankratov report: "Dispute of the Deaf Not Over. Roundtable in Pyatigorsk: Results Depressing"]

[Text] Stavropol Kray—Representatives of North Caucasus national movements and public organizations and groups of officials from federal organs of power have met in Pyatigorsk. The meeting was held within the framework of the roundtable devoted to discussing the conflict situation that has developed between Ingushetia and North Ossetia.

Participants in the roundtable were to adopt a special statement on the question under discussion. A draft was prepared by a group of experts from the "Senezhskiy Forum," since it was this movement's North Caucasus council that organized the meeting in Pyatigorsk. You would have thought that those in possession of the initial material had carefully studied the situation and should have set the tone for the whole discussion. But they kept quiet. Controversy began with an altercation between representatives of the Ossetian and Ingush sides. And it proved to be a dispute of the deaf....

A great deal was said about bringing refugees and enforced migrants back to their places of permanent residence and about guarantees of security for people trying to return to their homes.

Participants in the roundtable leveled serious complaints at federal organs of power which are providing inadequate socioeconomic aid to overcome the consequences of the armed conflict between the two peoples. It was intended that the Russian Government would earmark 11 billion rubles [R] for this purpose. Another figure is now being cited—R8 billion. But only a small fraction of this sum has been received by those in need of financial support.

National movements and public organizations should play an important role in overcoming the crisis in the region. An agreement was adopted on the fundamentals of cooperation between them. The creation of a mission of accord in the North Caucasus was one of the first steps taken to implement it.

Commentary on Udmurtia Corruption Case

PM0107102993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 5

[Ivan Sidorov commentary: "Udmurtia: Corruption Puts Government in a Spot"]

[Text] The government of the Republic of Udmurtia has become the first victim of corruption. But not one council of ministers chairman of a federation component has yet resigned as the result of the publication of revelatory materials.

This case is unprecedented if only because the facts that have come under the scrutiny of experts and of the Udmurt parliament's commission of deputies are not notable for their "terrible criminality." They are as commonplace in these times as the theme of thieving from the workplace was in the previous period of stagnation and perestroyka. The only difference is the scale on which things were stolen and the official positions of those who stole them.

Back on 10 March, in a piece called "Large Fortunes Reek of Oil and Corruption," our newspaper reported on several incidents what preceded the scandal in Udmurtia. It was about the fact that R. Karimov, first deputy chairman of the Udmurt Council of Ministers and at the same time joint owner of the company "Izhinkraft," had turned it into the main oil exporter in the republic. Not, of course, without the assistance of Council of Ministers Chairman N. Mironov, who regularly entrusted the sale of the regional oil quota in the West to "Izhinkraft," which for some reason he had taken a shine to. This private foreign economic activity has, in the judgment of the parliamentary experts, inflicted palpable losses on the republic. And one must assume that it has also provided considerable profits to the company and its joint owners.

Karimov naturally denied all involvement in this commercial structure. This gave 45 Udmurt deputies grounds to assert in a letter to the newspaper that the published "information had not been verified." However, "in order for there to be an objective examination" they wished to find out "how and on whose initiative" the materials had appeared.

There is no point in discussing why the editorial office has not and will not in the future divulge its sources of information. The legislators should know this more than anybody. But the deputies might have the curiosity to ask Karimov why he has not brought a libel suit against the paper. He did not do so because he knows how things really stand. Perhaps he will now share more details of this information with the prosecutor's office. In the wake of the scandal which has developed in the Udmurt parliament, it has been entrusted with investigating the facts which have been uncovered.

Let us say that, if it so desired, the Presidential Administration's Control Administration could make public dozens of similar harrowing stories about direct ties between highly placed bureaucrats and commercial structures. But only if it so desires.... Yu. Boldyrev, the forerunner of the present chief controller, was, it seems, removed precisely for displaying excessive zeal in the performance of his duties.

International Affairs

Zlenko Meets U.S. Ambassador, Discusses Iraq

LD3006170293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko today met U.S. Ambassador Roman Popadyuk. In the course of the conversation, the concern of the government and parliament of our state was expressed to him on the matter of the missile strike on the Iraqi intelligence center in Baghdad, as a result of which there were victims among the peaceful population. Special emphasis was put on the unilateral nature of the action, and its implementation without the sanction of the UN Security Council. Therefore, this goes beyond the framework of necessary sufficiency that states may employ in the campaign against international terrorism.

At the same time, the minister emphasized that the attempt, which terrorists had planned to carry out, on the life of former U.S. President George Bush when he was in Kuwait in the spring of this year, may not be evaluated as anything other than a plain manifestation of international terrorism.

Parliament Questions Legitimacy of Attack

MK0107082093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jul 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report in "Ukraine" rubric under general headline: "Strike Against Baghdad: Kiev Disagrees With Moscow, Washington"]

[Text] At the end of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's 29 June plenary session, following a demand from deputies, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko explained Ukraine's attitude to the U.S. bombing of Iraq. He stated that Ukraine knew nothing about the United States' intention to punish Iraq and that the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry learned about the bombing from reports in the media. The Ukrainian foreign political department's first step was the creation of a special group to clarify all the circumstances and work out the country's position. The result was a Foreign Ministry statement expressing regret over the bombing and the death of civilians, and stressing that all nations of the world—big and small—must respect the rules of international intercourse and territorial integrity of states and their right to security.

Anatoliy Zlenko said that the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry had summoned a high-placed official from the American Embassy in Ukraine, who gave Ukraine evidence that Iraq had been preparing an attempt on the life of former U.S. President George Bush. He also conveyed the text of Bill Clinton's address to the nation.

According to Zlenko, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry studied these documents and came to the conclusion that the U.S. references to Article 51 of the UN Charter, authorizing the use of force to protect one's own security, are not quite legitimate since first, there was no direct

threat to U.S. territorial integrity or a threat of aggression against the United States from Iraq. Second, it is not quite correct to justify U.S. actions without coordination with the UN Security Council by asserting that the bombing of Baghdad lies in the sphere of U.S.-Iraqi relations. Third, the U.S. actions, according to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, will hardly be conducive to a Middle East settlement. Furthermore, Anatoliy Zlenko said "it is inadmissible to punish even criminals at the expense of peaceful civilians' life" and that it is impossible to agree with the fact that some states are playing the role of world policemen. According to the minister, his statement reflects the opinion of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry and President Leonid Kravchuk, with whom the text of the statement had been coordinated.

Predictably, some Ukrainian deputies linked the U.S. actions to ratification by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet of the START I Treaty and accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Deputy Stepan Khmara frankly asked whether the foreign minister had not now revised his position with respect to Ukrainian nuclear weapons and whether these weapons should not be preserved as a guarantee of security against a possible attack on Ukraine. Many deputies spelled out who could attack Ukraine, citing the United States and Russia. Anatoliy Zlenko responded evasively, to the effect that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet was in a position to make well-balanced and well-advised decisions. Another deputy, Vasiliy Kozarenko, proposed that the Ukrainian parliament issue a special statement calling the United States an aggressor and condemning the raid. Zlenko responded by saying that he had expressed the position of his department and of the Ukrainian president, and that the deputies were free to adopt any statements.

Parliament did not discuss the minister's report, but only took note of it. Nonetheless, it could be predicted even now that opponents of Ukraine's nonnuclear status will use the bombing of Baghdad as a political trump card in the ratification of documents on nuclear disarmament.

Reaction Indicates Shift Toward Europe

MK0107093093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jul 93 p 3

[Vitaliy Portnikov commentary under general headline: "Strike Against Baghdad: Kiev Disagrees With Moscow, Washington"]

[Text] Kiev's unexpectedly negative reaction to the U.S. missile raid on Iraq could probably puzzle observers. If the negative comments had been made only in the fairly conservative Ukrainian parliament, one could have put up with that. This time, however, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry also joined the critics. Against the backdrop of an obvious tilt in Kiev's foreign policy toward the United States, the message is unmistakable: Ukraine's course is beginning to shift more toward Europe.

Of course, the West European states have approved and not condemned the U.S. action. And still they did

it—and this is proven by the cautious reaction on the part of some influential politicians and respectable opposition members—rather grudgingly, following their allied duty. And it is not a matter of sympathy toward the Iraqi dictator, but fears that Clinton's America, unlike Bush's, will be going it alone on the foreign political arena, without looking at Europe. The fear of the specter of being a "provincial" missile carrier is alive in the Old World but cannot be voiced. As for Russia's position, in the face of an important telephone conversation with Clinton, Yeltsin could hardly have afforded to take a risk. Ukraine, on the other hand, which is not getting any tangible financial assistance from across the ocean and is, moreover, being subjected to constant U.S. pressure over the nuclear weapons—pressure whose direction often coincides with Russia's—has nothing to put at risk. In addition, it demonstrates its potential capabilities on the European continent and is winning sympathy in the East, which is also not unimportant. Yet, just as no one would suspect that Russia and the United States have a complete identity of aims and views on nuclear weapons located in Ukraine, one should not look for analogies in the proximity of the positions of Kiev and those Russian politicians who have condemned the U.S. action—parliamentarians or Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. The words are similar but the aims are different.

Kravchuk, Slovak President Hold News Conference

LD0107100093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 30 Jun 93

[News conference with President Leonid Kravchuk and Slovak President Michal Kovac with unidentified international correspondents in Kiev—live; Kovac speaks in Slovak with simultaneous Ukrainian translation]

[Excerpts] [Kravchuk] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: I am happy to take this opportunity to once again welcome the president of the Slovak Republic and the whole delegation that has come to Ukraine, and to say a few words about the results of the visit to Ukraine by Mr. Michal Kovac, president of the Slovak Republic. First of all, I would like to stress that this visit has put in motion a qualitatively new page in the history of Ukrainian-Slovak mutual relations. Yesterday, the president said that if one were to take a measure of this visit, then one would have good grounds to say that this is probably a historic stage in our relations. This indeed is history and it is up to us how it will be filled by our practical steps so that our history will turn out to be a good one.

Today, as never before, it is very important to preserve not only our good relations, which have a glorious history, but to multiply and strengthen them in every way. It may be said that Slovakia is one of a few of our neighbors with which Ukraine does not have interethnic problems. Our ancestors acted wisely and today we do not have to make excuses for their actions. Ukraine, as a state, was never antagonistic towards Slovakia. [passage

omitted] This, obviously, is the first visit to Ukraine by the Slovak president. During this visit, interstate treaties between our countries were signed, and a firm legal base for cooperation and ways of implementing this cooperation in all spheres—in the sphere of politics, the economy, culture, science, art, and education—was established. Thus, our task now is to work to enrich these documents, to fill them with a new subject matter, and to approach new decisions that will be reflected in new documents but mainly in our practical actions. We consider that this visit and the signed documents correspond to the fundamental interest of both the Ukrainian and the Slovak peoples and are an important contribution in the development of Ukrainian-Slovak relations. I now invite Slovak President Michal Kovac to speak.

[Kovac] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen. Allow me to express my great joy on the occasion of the signing of treaties on good-neighborliness, mutual friendly relations, and cooperation between Ukraine and Slovakia. I can also confirm all that the president of Ukraine spoke about—that which took place in the past and that which is taking place now. I would like to add that for the first time both Ukraine and Slovakia have the ability to freely decide their situation. Although we have long been neighbors, it is only now that we have the opportunity to conclude agreements as free, independent, and sovereign states. We consider this event to be truly historic. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What are the principles of the Slovak state policy toward ensuring ethnic minorities' rights?

[Kovac] Ethnic minorities' rights are guaranteed in the Slovak Constitution. [passage omitted] Slovakia is open to any verification and any criticism concerning the issue of ethnic minorities. This also applies to relations with the Hungarian minority. I would like to note, with regret, [as heard] that there are no essential grounds for dramatizing Slovak policy in relation to the Hungarian minority.

There is no political force in Slovakia that would attempt to discriminate against any ethnic minority. We realize that all citizens resident on the territory of the Republic of Slovakia are our citizens, the citizens of the Republic of Slovakia, and we want to create equal opportunities for everybody. [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk] I have repeatedly said in this respect that I do not share, let us say, estimates that are not based on real fact. This is first. Second, I have said that foreign TV and radio companies had better give facts and avoid estimates. This would be right. However, it would be better in this particular case if you would appear on Moscow's "Itogi" program and prove that it was not a blow that left Ukraine gutted. That would be more useful than my statements alone. That is to say, I would like anyone defending Ukraine and its interests to speak out on every possible screen and have real proofs of it. I appeal to you for such action. This is the democratic way, since I cannot ban anyone from speaking and shall

not embark on this path of prohibiting free speech. There has to be freedom of speech, whereas the way it is exercised depends on an author, his culture, his understanding, and his position. Well, this is how it is. [passage omitted]

[Kovac] I would like to give a more precise account of what exactly President Kravchuk and I talked about. I proposed that the states neighboring Hungary—i.e., Ukraine, Slovakia, Romania, and Serbia—should jointly assess their policy toward ethnic minorities. This mechanism would enable us to openly exchange opinions not only on policy in relation to the Hungarian minority, but towards ethnic minorities in general. Thus, we could contribute to stability in the European region, since our common opinion and our common position would create the climate of mutual understanding and implementing the same standard of policy concerning ethnic minorities.

[Kravchuk] First of all, I would like to congratulate the Slovak president, and all our (?Slovak friends) present here, on the occasion of Slovakia having become a member of the European Council. We proceed from the fact that the more democratic countries there are in the council, the greater the role of the council is going to be. That is to say, answering your question specifically, this evoked positive feelings in me.

As far as Hungarians and Mr. Kovac's proposal are concerned, my understanding is that there are problems between Slovakia and Hungary in respect of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. My opinion is that the first main task is to settle these problems between Slovakia and Hungary.

It seems to me that we have managed to do this with Hungary. We signed an agreement on friendship and cooperation and I can say today that we settled those issues in a civilized manner.

Although I do not reject but, let us say, support Mr. Kovac's proposal on standards of treating ethnic minorities in all countries, and those having problems in that respect in particular, my position, as I said yesterday, is that problems concerning a specific ethnic minority—for example Hungarians—can be settled and dealt with in other countries, both Ukraine and Slovakia, and Romania and Serbia, or any other state, only with the participation of Hungary.

That is to say, we must not be accused of settling problems of a particular ethnic minority without the participation of this minority's mother. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Were there any specific aspects of political or economic cooperation discussed that would be aimed at strengthening stability in the European region?

[Kovac] (?I understand that) the question is whether Ukraine and Slovakia took any specific steps that would result in strengthening stability in the Central European

region and in Europe in general. [passage indistinct] We have dozens of agreements with Ukraine prepared by now and a list of these agreements has been outlined. There are even more of them. All of these agreements will make it possible to develop our relations in the field of trade, economy, culture, transport, border cooperation, and also in the field of sharing experience between state bodies.

All of it in itself is a stabilizing factor and a real (?proof) of the fact that there are not any issues of contention, that we share a common opinion on the issue of state security in Central and Eastern Europe, that we hold the same view of the development of our states, and that we are absolutely resolute about contributing to the process of stabilization in this region. All of it in itself means a great contribution to creating the necessary social climate in this region.

[Kravchuk] I would simply like to emphasize three aspects only, which are reflected in our agreements.

The first is that they are aimed at improving economic and political stability within both Ukraine and Slovakia. This is the first factor. The second factor is the friendly and good-neighborly relations between Ukraine and Slovakia, which is aimed at establishing peace and security in general. And third, Ukraine and Slovakia are members of relevant European structures and will act in accordance with our agreements on an international basis. They will act accordingly in order for security and peace to exist in Europe. [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk] Regarding the Black Sea Fleet, you know that the division of property between Russia and Ukraine was also on the same basis. What is on Ukrainian territory is Ukrainian and what is on Russian territory is Russian. Our biggest problem was caused by assets and liabilities arising from foreign debt and issues of the division of the fleet and strategic forces.

I think it's a great pity that certain forces are attempting to transform the Black Sea Fleet Officers' Association into a political structure. I have read the resolution adopted by the officers and can say that this statement virtually does not deal with issues of strategic military objectives.

First, the association condemned the decision made by the two presidents and commanders in chief and, thus, stated that, strictly speaking, they refused to comply with (?this decision). Then, for example, the idea of support for an all-Crimean referendum and other political issues was dealt with. That is to say, the conclusion I reach is that the officers association has assumed the function of a political organization and is starting to act like a political organization. That also includes the issue of the change of insignia, which was specified by the Yalta agreement decisions on insignia.

I would like to stress that the fleet commander is acting in accordance with the president's directives, and my opinion is that the associations decisions are grounds for

the fleet commander to make decisions. I know that this is exactly the position taken by the fleet commander, and I support it. I think the fleet's officers can have their own point of view, but it would be preferable if they would express it through the fleet commander. The associations decisions have to be well-considered in order not to exacerbate the situation and not cause a further exacerbation of the problems experienced by the fleet.

The agreement determines principles and does not close the door to discussion and for relevant decisions to be made that would correspond with the interests of Ukraine, Russia, and the fleet itself.

I would like to stress though, that it is the fleet that serves the states and not the states that serve the fleet. If some of the officers do not agree with the presidents' or state decisions, however, they have only one path in a civilized society and that is resignation. Because any military structure that is not subordinate to the state ceases to be a purely military structure, and becomes something different.

That is why, I appeal to both the sailors and the officers, as well as others, to act in a careful and well-considered way. We have a lot to learn. We shall be able to settle any issue, but there must not be any diktat, condemnation, or threat because this issue is very, very dangerous.

[Correspondent] What caused the fall in the volume of trade and economic cooperation between Ukraine and Slovakia?

[Kravchuk] I think there is more than one reason here. I often come across these questions. The thing is that there were adequate ties and there were adequate structures that controlled these ties. These structures were clearly defined, whereas those between our former Soviet Union republics were planned and centralized. Now this has stopped. For example, there is an enterprise in Ukraine that has manufactured goods for a Russian enterprise. These goods are stored, while the Russian enterprise does not have any money to pay for these goods. It is not ties that are at issue here. It is the issue of elementary calculations. It means that these goods are either unneeded or there are other reasons.

There was the Soviet Union and there was Czechoslovakia. There were adequate ties. The Soviet Union disintegrated and so did Czechoslovakia. Ukraine and Slovakia were formed. It is clear that time is needed to establish new ties on a new basis between our states and between specific enterprises.

So I am convinced that in a while we—the workforce of enterprises in various industries of ours, as well as in education, science, and culture, and at the level of state structures—will create both conditions and preconditions for these ties to be both of interest and to be effective, and they will develop. But, again, a certain amount of time is needed for this. [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk] In accordance with our laws, the granting of free economic zone status to a region or oblast is within the competence of the Supreme Council. The Government of Ukraine, with the participation of relevant state and representative authorities from Transcarpathia, has prepared all the documents and sent them to the Supreme Council. So now it is up to the Supreme Council, and I hope that it will consider this issue and make a relevant decision.

[Kovac] Regarding this issue, I would like to say that Transcarpathia is an integral part of Ukraine. In our agreement, we confirmed the inviolability of our borders with Ukraine, at present and in the future. This means that we take account of this condition, and we regard as destabilizing any initiatives that would politicize it. These initiatives cannot expect any support from the Slovak side.

The very fact that we adopted this principle between individual states is regarded by me as a vitally important prerequisite of stability in Central Europe and Europe in general.

All initiatives, as well as President Kravchuk's initiative concerning the issue of state security, deserve a very thorough examination because they are a response to the feelings of other countries that do not have guarantees, or sufficient guarantees, of their security. [passage omitted] I believe that this initiative will produce other constructive proposals on ensuring or creating guarantees of our security.

[Unidentified moderator] I thank all the news conference's participants. Goodbye, all the best.

Kravchuk Answers Questions

WS0107071793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT
30 Jun 93

[Leonid Kravchuk's answers to unidentified correspondents' questions after joint news conference with Slovak President Michal Kovac in Kiev on 30 June]

[Text] [Correspondent] What is your attitude toward hoisting St. Andrew's flags over Sevastopol ships?

[Kravchuk] I am very sorry that certain forces want to turn the Black Sea Fleet Officers Assembly into a political structure. I have read their declaration—it does not say anything about strategic or military goals. In my opinion, the decision of the assembly is not grounds for taking measures by the fleet's commander. By the way, he has a similar point of view, and I support it.

[Correspondent] In the West, reports are being circulated on the combat readiness of Ukrainian nuclear arms. Is this true?

[Kravchuk] Nuclear arms deployed on our territory today were not built by us, and cannot be used, replaced, or maintained by us. These facts demonstrate that these arms are more nominal than real. On the other hand, we

can use carriers or other components for conventional non-nuclear weapons. Thus, Ukraine should not be accused or suspected of having the possibility of using nuclear arms. This is unreal from any angle.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion with regard to the prime minister's program?

[Kravchuk] I think that Prime Minister Kuchma has a good program, or rather draft program. Now, every broad problem drafted by the prime minister must receive a detailed analysis. However, all in all the program is directed at constructive work, reforms, and people's initiative.

[Correspondent] What is your forecast regarding the future referendum?

[Kravchuk] I am thinking of adding more questions to it. Namely: what kind of state are we going to build—parliamentary or presidential-parliamentary and who should adopt the constitution. If people at the referendum say that they want the constitution to be adopted by the Constitutional Assembly, the assembly will become legitimate. I want the law to be observed. Who is the supreme power in our state? These are the people. Let the people confirm the lawfulness of all our next moves.

[Correspondent] How do you assess the recent clash between the United States and Iraq?

[Kravchuk] This is an affair between the United States and Iraq. With regard to Ukraine, we want international principles and norms to be observed. We do not want civilians to die. This is the Ukrainian stance. I have no grounds to interfere in internal affairs.

Sevastopol Rally Demands Russian Control of City, Fleet

PM2906153093 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jun 93 p 4

[Nikolay Musiyenko report: "Sevastopol Still Hoping"]

[Text] Participants in an all-Russia rally in Sevastopol adopted an address to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. They demanded that Sevastopol's status as a city under Russian jurisdiction on the basis of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Edict of 29 October 1948 be reaffirmed, an item concerning Sevastopol's state affiliation be included in the Russian Federation Constitution, Sevastopol be declared the main base of the Black Sea Fleet, and the fleet not be subject to partition.

Navy Supports Fleet Agreement

LD3006091093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0852
GMT 30 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Stetsuk for TASS]

[Text] Sevastopol June 30 TASS—Ukrainian Navy officers were fast to oppose a statement of their colleagues from the Black Sea Fleet adopted on Tuesday [29 January] and demanded that the national parliament immediately ratifies the Moscow agreement to share the Navy between Russia and Ukraine.

In a message to President Leonid Kravchuk and Parliament Chairman Ivan Plyushch the Union of Ukrainian Navy Officers also called to denounce all agreements between Russia and Ukraine on the disputed fleet in case it hoists Russian Maritime St. Andrew's flags.

The fleet should be then considered as the Navy of a foreign state and must leave the territory of Ukraine, according to the message released by the press centre of the Ukrainian Navy on Wednesday.

The officers also called on Russian President Boris Yeltsin to "use all his energy and authority" in order to have the agreement on the fleet ratified and to officially distance himself from "chauvinistically-minded forces in the Crimea and Sevastopol".

Crimean Parliament Examines Fleet Issues

LD3006180393 Moscow Ostankino Television First
Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By correspondent Vladimir Plotnikov from Crimea; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A session of the Crimean Supreme Soviet started work today by examining the situation around the Black Sea Fleet. The question is that the Moscow agreement neglected the proposal to have a single Black Sea Fleet, which was put forward by people's deputies from Crimea and Sevastopol, representatives of public organizations, and the sailors themselves. This has brought about not only disappointment but also new problems with service, social guarantees for servicemen, and employment. The all-fleet officers' assembly has appealed to the Supreme Soviets of Ukraine and Russia to refrain from ratifying the agreement. Calls to hoist St. Andrew's flags on warships are destabilizing the situation even further; however, Crimean deputies could only state that a just solution to the future of the fleet could only be found by taking into account the views of those who serve in the fleet and live in the region. Only the supreme bodies of power of Ukraine and Russia, however, are authorized to take a relevant decision.

National Affairs

Government Establishes New Benefits for Miners

LD3006124893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in
Ukrainian 0500 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Government has established new benefits for miners. This means that as of 1 June,

expenses involved with the extension of regular vacations for mining industry employees and single compensation payments for health damages are deducted from the amount by which the actual consumption fund exceeds its calculated figure. This was reported by the Cabinet of Ministers press service on 29 June.

Moves To Liberalize Crimean Economy Reported

PM0107093393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Semena report: "Open Economy In Prospect For Crimea"]

[Text] Simferopol—An edict from Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has been published in which, "with a view to more fully implementing the rights of the Republic of Crimea in the economic sphere," he supports the Republic of Crimea Supreme Soviet's decision

to set up an open economy regime on Crimean territory that would envisage the liberalization of financial, banking, fiscal, budgetary, foreign economic, and customs relations.

Leonid Kravchuk instructed the Crimean Council of Ministers to elaborate draft acts of legislation to regulate the open economy in line with the law "On the Demarcation of Powers Between Organs of State Power of Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea," and instructed the Ukrainian Council of Ministers to make the necessary decisions at country level.

At the same time, directors at state enterprises and entrepreneurs in the Crimea are demanding that the Crimean Supreme Soviet, "considering the critical state of the economy and the need for fundamental decisions, urgently grant the Republic of Crimea Government the right to adopt decrees by the end of this year that will have the force of a Republic of Crimea law."

Belarus**Supreme Soviet Session Addresses Collective Security Treaty****Shushkevich 29 Jun Address**

*WS3006164593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in
Belarusian 1347 GMT 29 Jun 93*

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich at the 12th Supreme Soviet session in Minsk on 29 June—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] ...Some officials, including the Belarusian Foreign Ministry leadership, proposed to sign the treaty and not to observe it, but to wait until the moment of ratification. What will come out of it? Such a procedure does not exist anywhere in the world. Any state that has signed an international treaty must follow it, all its clauses. Otherwise, this state will be treated in kind by the world community.

We can recall that we had adhered to the START I treaty before we ratified it. The CIS collective security treaty is being implemented, although it is not yet ratified by the majority of states. The troops from the former USSR republics are participating in the military actions in Tajikistan. Some days ago, Kazakhstan adopted a decision to send its military units to Tajikistan. God forbid that we should take part in foreign civil wars! Sometimes, these wars are directed against the legal state power. In Tajikistan, for example, the Afghan mujahedin are participating in military actions against the legal government. According to some data, the dead and missing in action number some 100,000 persons. You could imagine how much blood will be shed for nothing if you recall the participation of the Soviet Army in the Afghan war. A number of the CIS states who had signed the collective security treaty admitted that the Middle Asia region is within the sphere of their national interests. In particular, the Russian foreign policy concept is directed at the urgent cessation of tension on the southern borders, the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan. This policy is being implemented. On 25 May, when the agreement on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between Russia and Tajikistan was reached, a package of seven military agreements was also signed. What is more, the fulfillment by Russia of its military-political obligations is threatened. In the fall, for example, Russia transferred to the reserve two entire drafts of servicemen, more than half a million persons. In light of the fact that the current Russian legislation allows some 80 percent of the youths who are drafted to defer their service, it is possible that there will be eight times fewer young privates than expected. We can easily guess at which regions will bear the burden of filling the vacant places. You should not hope that Belarusian youth will be rescued from military actions in the hot south regions by the reservation, which excludes the use of the Belarusian military outside of the Republic. I

repeat once again: This reservation must be approved by all the members of that collective security treaty.

According to our legislation, international laws take precedence over our domestic laws. I must remind you that at the session before last of the CIS Council of Defense Ministers, a draft agreement on the creation of the new united CIS Armed Forces was proposed. It foresees the creation in 1993-1994 of combined army units [ahulnavayskovykh zluchenyaw], which will become a cover for and a source of the mobile forces in the zones of military conflict of the CIS countries. I want to add that Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan are among the strongest supporters of this proposal. The draft on new CIS joint armed forces will be submitted for a discussion by heads of state scheduled for 16 July in Yerevan. Another proviso discussed by the Presidium deals with not deploying foreign troops and arms. Russia will hardly agree to this stance. The main provisions of the concept of Russian policy, adopted in May, stipulate the preservation of military bases, the infrastructure, and other facilities on the entire territory of the former USSR, and granting Russia the status of the sole nuclear state within the CIS. Thus, the military doctrine of the neighboring state is oriented toward deploying Russian troops outside the Russian borders. This means that by joining the system of collective security within the CIS, we are in fact, rejecting the status of a nuclear state. This status was confirmed at this session by constitutional majorities of votes during the discussion of the draft constitution.

Let me remind you that the draft explicitly states that the Republic of Belarus views its goal as making its territory a nuclear-free zone and a neutral state. As an argument in favor of joining the CIS collective security system, some people are using the fact that the Belarusian Armed forces have found themselves in dire straits and are incapable of safeguarding the national interests.

Let us face it: We have not created the Belarusian Army merely by issuing the declaration. The Army, based on defensive principles and realities, must eventually develop national awareness. These goals are incorporated into the military doctrine—patriotism, neutrality, and reasonable sufficiency. One should strive to implement such goals, rather to pay lip service.

Belarusian Army and Conversion: No sooner had the ink dried on the document establishing the Belarusian Armed Forces that our officers proved themselves unable to command in the absence of directives from the top. This is logical, given the number of military personnel that we currently have. The population of Uzbekistan is twice that of Belarus, but the Uzbek Army is one third the size of the Belarusian Army. Even belligerent Georgia, with half the population of Belarus, has an Army one tenth the size of the Belarusian forces. There are 400,000 more Hungarians than Belarusians, however, the Hungarian Army is half the size of the Belarusian Army. The same can be said about Austria.

According to international standards, relation between armed forces and the population should represent 0.5 percent [as received]. In Belarus the number is three times as large, and will remain twice as large even after the intended reduction of the Army. Defense, however, does not simply mean the maintenance of a certain number of troops. [passage indistinct] Military property encompasses almost half million hectares, one quarter of it consists of forest land, our potential for raw materials. About 70 state enterprises, employing 400,000 workers, are a part of the military industrial complex. It stands to reason that this does not have a favorable influence on the Belarusian economy.

This is why—aside from the general program of reforming the Armed Forces—we need a separate program for the reduction of the military budget. For example, [words indistinct] defensive systems in order to neutralize foreign offensive weapons, standardization, and indication of specific weapons, and [word indistinct] of their types. It is impossible to develop such a program without a definite plan for rearmament, which the Defense Ministry does not yet have. This has a negative impact on the military industry, which [words indistinct] and hopes to flourish again after Belarus joins the collective security system. Some time ago, we launched the conversion process without any prior economic calculations. Now, in exactly the same way, we joined the collective security system. We are ignoring the fact that reality is completely different. Russia does not intend to place large military orders as it has done in the past. Russia is developing its own production potential, which can be documented in numerous ways. I am convinced that rather than to revive the old military industrial complex, we need to convert it and restructure it for the benefit of the national economy and the national defense. How can we possibly speak about reliable defense when our industry and Army combat readiness is to be completely dependent on a foreign country, even a friendly country? Pardon me, but I see no independence here. The creation of our Army is a long and complex process. [words indistinct] officer corps [words indistinct] patriots. Otherwise, it is impossible to create the Armed Forces and the government organs of an independent country. Who will be responsible for determining the criteria for professional competence and loyalty to Belarus, its traditions, and culture? Only concrete and steps can lead to genuine statehood.

On the Way to Economic Union: If you recall the last session, the collective security issue was linked to the CIS economic union. It was widely held that joining the collective security system was a precondition for economic unity. We addressed the issue of economic union at the 14 May CIS summit in Moscow. All CIS countries have explicitly spoken out in favor of its creation. With the exception of Turkmenistan, all signed the declaration stating that movement toward economic unity of the CIS countries means ensuring mutual interests of all the CIS countries, fruitful development of free economic relations, and removal of all the obstacles hampering their

cooperation. Relevant documents, announcing concrete steps moves toward the economic union, were to be drafted by 1 July. It is expected that a package of 22 documents which would lay the legal groundwork of the new relations within the CIS will be approved by the end of this year. I would like emphasize that summit participants did not see the military union as a precondition for economic integration. As you know, Ukraine and Moldova did not, and do not, plan to sign the collective security treaty. Nevertheless, they spoke in favor of the common economic area and signed the declaration. Moreover, no one demanded that they join the collective security treaty. The same applies to Georgia. Avtandil Margiani, Georgian vice prime minister, stated that Georgia intends to joint the economic union, even though [words indistinct]. It should be emphasized that the creation of the economic union within the CIS is still questionable. This view is shared by the government. The chairman of the Belarusian Council of Ministers recently told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that joint CIS cooperation on economic issues was unlikely.

Unfortunately, our government is inconsistent. At the last session, when I spoke in favor of bilateral relations, representatives of the government unanimously advocated the priority of a general military union. A week ago, during a visit to Switzerland, the head of the government pointed out that consolidation of the CIS should be achieved on the basis of bilateral relations. The Council of Ministers must have understood that economic integration will [words indistinct] our own economic hardships. While maintaining economic relations with the much more advanced states, we will have to review our approach to privatization, land ownership, and monetary policy. We will not be able to avoid the coordination of reform tactics and economic measures. The neighboring states will not allow us to lag behind on the way to market relations. Supporters of the collective security treaty are hoping, in vain, that Russia will grant us privileges in exchange for a compromise and a reduction of Belarusian sovereignty. Economic integration of CIS states is being built on the basis of market relations that stipulate only mutually advantageous cooperation. The 1 July 1993 telegram from the Central Bank serves as the proof. It deals with new principles of monetary policy which will finally destroy the ruble zone. Russian representatives have declared that Russia will no longer play the role of a CIS donor in favor of protecting its own national interests. They have been referring to the so-called technical loans which are granted to consumers of Russian products without any preconditions. In fact, this means free transfer of Russian resources to citizens and enterprises in neighboring states. Last year, the volume of technical credits amounted to 10 percent of Russia's gross national product. At the same time, interest-free assistance granted by the United States to other countries does not exceed 1 percent. This figure serves as the guideline for the Russian leadership who demand that loans to CIS members should be issued on same terms as those granted by Western creditors. Nonetheless, Russia was and will remain our primary economic partner. We

have been bound by millions of ties which make interdependent. These are economic, cultural, historic, and personal. Breaking these ties would be a grave mistake, and nobody in Belarus is agitating against friendly and equal relations with Russia. However, the Belarusian nation is experiencing a durability test. The question is whether Belarus is capable of preserving its national sovereignty, and whether it deserves to be an independent state. Belarus has an outstanding potential to retain its position on neutrality, while developing economic cooperation within the CIS. Belarus is too small to seek strategic interests a thousand miles from its borders. However, it is large enough to have the right to choose its destiny in the spirit of democracy, and to provide peace for all its citizens.

Five parliamentary lessons for today and the future. In parting, I cannot fail to mention our personal and collective responsibility to the Belarusian people who trusted in our competence and conscience, and empowered us to make decisions on the fate of the nation. The Supreme Soviet has recently been attacked from different angles. I am sure that this criticism is well-grounded. The people are right when they say that deputies have problems finding common language. Rather than to struggle for the right cause, they fight with their opponents. Politics are prevailing over common sense. Certain conclusions must be reached. Let us recall the discussion on land ownership. I want to remind you that a half-year campaign was launched to protect non-existing collective land ownership. All levels of authority and much of the mass media were involved in it. Life has shown that the campaign was staged and that it did not reflect the true feelings of the people. Finally, the Supreme Soviet adopted the law on land ownership which does not contain the clauses which had evoked these heated debates. I wish to emphasize that the campaign was held under the guise of protecting collective property. In reality, the main goal was to attack political adversaries. This is supported by the fact that the idea was removed from the agenda when the goal was reached. This is ridiculous. If some deputies, including the Supreme Soviet chairman had not opposed the idea of collective land ownership, there would have been no reason to argue, or some other reason would have been invented to play these gladiator games.

We did not have to wait long for this new reason. The game is on again. However, the subject is different—collective security. I think that this issue will disappear much like the artificial issue of collective land ownership. In my opinion, the Supreme Soviet must agree with its electorate—with the majority of Belarusians—and refrain from ratifying the collective security treaty.

Shushkevich 30 Jun Address

LD3006211793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1352 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 30 Jun—To hope for allowances on Russia's part for complacency and to encroach upon its state sovereignty would be a thankless task, stated Belarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich at the Supreme Soviet session today.

The head of the Belarus parliament is convinced that economic integration between the countries of the Commonwealth is possible today only on the basis of market relations. One cannot expect to pump oil and gas out of Russia "for next to nothing." This is also backed by a telegram sent by the Russian Central Bank to Belarus on the introduction from 1 July of new conditions for financing and finance policy.

In the opinion of the head of parliament, Belarus' membership of the collective security system will not provide Belarus' defense industry with a sufficient number of contracts. The new realities of today must be taken into consideration. According to Shushkevich, Russia has no intention of continuing to handle orders of the Belarus defense industry on the same scale as in the past. It is setting up its own production capacity. That is why the salvation of the republic's military-industrial complex lies not in new orders but in rational conversion and structural perestroika.

Deputies Criticize Shushkevich

WS3006141793 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Report by Mikhail Rudkovskiy from the Supreme Soviet session—live]

[Text] [Rudkovskiy] Stanislav Shushkevich was asked, to put it mildly, quite a few questions at the Supreme Soviet session yesterday afternoon. In my opinion, they were prompted by the deputies' resentment of his policies directed toward the Republic's sovereignty, independence, and market-oriented economy. The legislative speaker managed to withstand political pressure on the part of the deputies. Today, the debate on Shushkevich's report continued. Vyacheslav Grib, head of the Commission for National Security, was the first to take the floor. In his report, he reiterated his position on Belarus' joining the CIS collective security system. All of the subsequent reports, whether moderate or aggressive, included a common suggestion that the legislative speaker found himself in opposition toward the majority of the deputies. Deputy Aleksandr Lopashenka delivered particularly severe criticism of S. Shushkevich. If the question about the resignation of the Supreme Soviet chairman arises, he said, I would vote for it. Deputy Leonid Privalov went even further, demanding a no-confidence vote on the Supreme Soviet chairman. [passage indistinct]

With me here is Mikhail Slemnev, head of the legislative Commission for National Policy and CIS Issues. How would you describe what is happening in the legislature at this moment?

[Slemnev] In spite of the fact that the head of our legislature opposes the collective security system, he went along with the decision of the legislature. In my opinion, there is no system of collective security today, and we should not fling ourselves recklessly into something about which we have very little notion. At this point, we should seek bilateral relations—first of all economic ones—with our neighbors, such as Russia, Poland, and Ukraine. Getting back to your question about the hostility of the deputies toward the Supreme Soviet chairman, it can be explained by two reasons. First, some deputies failed to properly acquaint themselves with the report of Stanislav Shushkevich—a thorough one, in my opinion. Some even thought that he started to reverse the course. But this is not true. Yesterday, Shushkevich made it clear that he is an ardent supporter of economic ties in a multidirectional cooperation with Russia.

Kozlovskiy 30 Jun Speech

WS3006144093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in
Belarusian 0704 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Speech by Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy at the Supreme Soviet Session in Minsk—live, in Russian; broadcast in progress]

[Text] ...Let me note, however, that the issue of the collective security treaty and its ratification has not been discussed. Since we have touched on it, I would like to remark that many arguments are simply groundless, and this does not require any expert analysis. I suppose that each people's deputy is able to make this out. However, here are a few examples.

Our reservations regarding the treaty will not be accepted, and our servicemen will be sent to any hot spots in the countries that are parties to this treaty, without the consent of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet. This is nonsense, to put it mildly. This agreement is a voluntary matter. We can join or withdraw from it freely at any time. This depends only on us.

Considering the second item—that Armenia, Tajikistan, and other countries adapt the collective security treaty to their convenience—everything is obvious here as well. Each agreement has a key state, and believe me that it is not Armenia or Tajikistan, but Russia that is such a country. Our attitude toward the collective security treaty is primarily our attitude toward the Russian Federation. It is in this manner that this issue is understood by the people's deputies from the Russian Supreme Soviet whom we met on 28 June. They accept this agreement [words indistinct]. They are the same as us, and they do not want their children to perish in armed conflicts outside the Russian Federation. They have already specified this in their laws. They understand us perfectly and support us.

Moreover, the creation of the economic union within the CIS framework without the collective security treaty is just another myth and an attempt to isolate the Republic

of Belarus from its eastern neighbors. Thus far, the creation of the CIS has been highly unfavorable to all member states. The same will happen to the economic union, because it is useless to erect a building on sand without a foundation.

The references by our respected commander in chief of the Belarusian Armed Forces that our Army is larger than that of Uzbekistan are incomprehensible and strained. Uzbekistan seized all the Armed Forces that it had on its territory. Had there been more such forces, it would have taken them all. I do not understand what we have to do with Uzbekistan here.

The large-scale reduction of our Armed Forces is being conducted on schedule. Moreover, it has been approved by the Supreme Soviet. These are only digressions. In fact, attempts were made to distract us from the issue of the timely implementation of Supreme Soviet decisions, and they were successful. We accepted this challenge, and instead of discussing the fulfillment of Supreme Soviet decisions, we began to debate the collective security agreement for the hundredth time.

That is why I would like to draw your attention to the essence of this issue. The events around the signing of the collective security treaty have revealed a paradoxical phenomenon that resolutions adopted by the Supreme Soviet may not be enacted because they were approved against the will of certain deputies. You can review our work, and you will not find a single Supreme Soviet decision that was adopted unanimously. There are always some people who vote for and some who vote against. However, this system of work is common to all legislatures. This is a democratic form of state governing. But the adopted decisions must be implemented. I do not think that it is necessary to prove something or to persuade someone here.

Nevertheless, the 9 April 1993 Supreme Soviet resolution has not been enacted for 49 days, because the Presidium has not formulated its reservations. I would like to note that the Presidium was authorized to draft these reservations. The Presidium was authorized to prepare the reservations for the ratification, and it will probably fulfill what it must do. In addition, the Supreme Soviet has adopted its decision. There was no need to look for the contents of these reservations. As far back as 8 April, these reservations were actually lying on the table, and each deputy had them. That is why I think that this issue is being presented in a muffled form. Everything was clear and obvious then. However, this issue was hushed up. An active mass campaign was launched to suppress the debate on this agreement, because it brought all propaganda against the collective security treaty to nothing.

All this fuss around the adoption of these reservations was described in my article in the 1 June 1993 issue of NARODNAYA GAZETA. I sent this article to the editorial board on 28 May, the day of the signing of the agreement.

Regarding the reservations in the statement by Stanislav Stanislavovich, I think that they contain a threatening factor: We will be, but we will leave. [sentence as heard] This reservation is not serious, because the collective security agreement is concluded only for five years. The withdrawal of Russian troops from our territory is planned for seven years, which is only two years longer than the treaty. Apart from this, any state can withdraw from this treaty by giving notice to other parties six months in advance. However, this was not enough, and I do not know what this reservation meant in this case.

The reference by some people's deputies to the fact that the 9 April 1993 Supreme Soviet resolution does not indicate the term of the treaty's implementation, is also unfounded. The collective security agreement can also be erroneous, because Article 4 of the 3 July 1990 Law on promulgating and enacting laws and other documents adopted by the Belarusian Supreme Soviet and other governing bodies states that Supreme Soviet resolutions and normative acts of the Republic of Belarus are enacted from the moment of their adoption, unless otherwise provided. The given reference is not of a normative nature. Thus, this decision had to be implemented after the adoption of the decision. If I am wrong, let the commissions that we have establish this.

Thus, dear comrades, yesterday's information enables me to draw the following conclusions: The Belarusian Supreme Soviet decision of 9 April 1993 has not been implemented because:

- the Supreme Soviet Presidium did not work out its reservations, although it had to accomplish this;
- despite numerous attacks, the Supreme Soviet did not review its stand on Belarus joining the collective security agreement;
- the Cabinet of Ministers of Belarus put forward the idea of creating a new economic union and of joining the collective security treaty;

— the majority of Defense Ministry specialists speak in favor of collective security, and associate the successful development of the Belarusian Armed Forces with this issue alone.

I think that all these motives must be reflected in the resolution on this issue.

Thank you.

Kebich Discusses Meeting With Russian Counterpart

LD3006153793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich from Minsk—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A working meeting will be held in Moscow today between the prime ministers of Russia and Belarus. Yesterday, Vyacheslav Kebich gave an interview for our correspondent in Minsk.

[Kebich] I would say that there are probably three tasks. The first task is to talk again about an increase in the supply of oil. The second is to obtain credit from Russia to pay for this oil with Russian cash rubles, and the third will be, perhaps, the main one, and that is to discuss reaching economic union as soon as possible.

I believe that when prices for oil and gas are higher—and I am sure that these prices will not be completely freed this year and we will, I am certain, reach agreement with Russia on this—then the duties will have to be lifted, the customs duties. If they are lifted then, theoretically, we can really say that prices are world prices, but without the customs duties. But if customs duties are levied, then the price, the final price for the end product becomes too high and in that case, the price for our end product will become higher than world prices. I think that the Russian Government does understand this matter and (?knows how to behave) with regard to its neighbors.

Azerbaijan

National Assembly 30 Jun Proceedings Detailed

NC0107105593

[Editorial Report] Baku Azerbaijan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri at 0740 on 30 June carries the live Azerbaijani National Assembly proceedings. Geydar Aliyev begins by saying the session will discuss the issue of the prime minister, the prosecutor general, and a report on the Ganja incidents by the Parliamentary Investigation Commission.

Aliyev says: "Talks have been going on with the Azerbaijani People's Deputy Surat Guseynov in Baku for the past three days. The reason for the talks is obvious."

Aliyev says extreme tension followed the Ganja incidents on 4 June, intensifying after President Elchibey's "incomprehensible" decision to leave Baku. "These developments harmed every aspect of Azerbaijani life and things intensified in Karabakh and in the war zones with Armenia. A state crisis, a crisis of power, ensued in Azerbaijan," he points out.

Aliyev continues by saying that consultations with various groups and influential figures found Guseynov invited to Baku and Aliyev says he held comprehensive talks with Guseynov from 27 through 29 June.

Aliyev continues: "These talks were constructive and beneficial," covering ways out of the situation. He says they agreed all political and military forces must unite, adding that forces bent on resorting to negative acts are in the wrong and follow their own interests. He stresses: "I was invited here as a citizen, a deputy, and a known political figure in Azerbaijan. I have only one aim: To end the confrontation and eliminate the tension so that we can all unite and resolve the grave and extremely complex situation, which unfortunately became more complex in the past month. We must unite all our forces to recover the occupied land of Azerbaijan and safeguard Azerbaijan's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity."

"We must act to ensure peace and a national consensus, restore Azerbaijan's collapsed economy, and use its economic potential. We need to ensure that Azerbaijani regions don't break up and that we are safeguarding the integrity of Azerbaijan as an independent state. We must halt the trend toward separatism and fragmentation. I will continue to exert every effort and call on all those who love the Azerbaijani people, country, nation, and land, and who want to serve it with dedication, to unite."

He asserts that measures have averted a civil war, but the danger remains and more should be done about it. He says he believes the administrative bodies should be "strengthened" and "a hold taken of power" to settle all these problems.

Aliyev continues: "I do not think the rallies and statements made by the forces belonging to the People's Front

help national unity, peace, and consensus. Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey aggravated things. Those who were around Elchibey and gave him [word indistinct] advice pushed him on his path. Regrettably, despite Elchibey's absence from Baku since 18 June and his stay in Keleki, some people insist on defending him and sacrificing the Azerbaijani people's entire interests for this objective. Elchibey refuses to resign, but he has cut himself off from the Azerbaijani people and sits in Keleki. Such moves in his support are not important."

Aliyev adds: "In my talks with Guseynov, I put it: Azerbaijani People's Deputy Surat Guseynov is famous here. With the efforts of the government and President Elchibey, Guseynov served as the commander of a large military unit in Karabakh region, as the president's representative in Karabakh, and as an assistant to the prime minister. His positive activities are known to the Azerbaijani people, the National Assembly, and Elchibey. In conferring the title of national hero on Guseynov, Elchibey considered all these things. Not everyone in Azerbaijan has the good fortune to get the title national hero. Regrettably, in the past year in Azerbaijan, the title has been conferred posthumously [words indistinct], but Surat Guseynov, as a great commander, had the honor bestowed upon him. Guseynov's economic activities are also obvious. He directed a large enterprise and even now is engaged in this work."

"Considering all this and in view of my impressions gathered in my talks with Guseynov, using the authority granted to me, executing the duties of the Azerbaijani president, I propose Surat Guseynov be appointed prime minister of the Azerbaijan Republic."

Aliyev reiterates his admiration of Guseynov, adding: "For us, the safeguarding of Azerbaijan's independence, territorial integrity, and the recovery of the occupied land are the basics. Appointing him to such a high post will help Surat Guseynov utilize his opportunities and potential."

Aliyev invites comments, but none are offered, and then asks Guseynov to address the session:

Guseynov states: "Esteemed Chairman, esteemed Deputies, if this trust is shown in me, I will serve my people and state with dedication and do everything in my power to end the strife in the republic and extricate the people from its grave and pitiable economic situation. This is all I have to say. Please, if anyone has a question, let him ask it."

Asked who was responsible for the Ganja incidents, Guseynov says: "The leader and President Abulfaz Elchibey was responsible for the crime." He says: "The president should be blamed for this crime before the state and people and should be punished accordingly."

There are no other questions and Aliyev asks Guseynov to return to his seat.

Three deputies then ask to address the Assembly.

Former Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov disputes Guseynov's claim of the president's criminal responsibility. He says he will not oppose Guseynov's appointment as premier if he succeeds in the job. He states that he is ready to join any effort to stabilize Azerbaijan, as long as the transfer of authority is legal and not damaging to Azerbaijan's international standing. He says Aliyev should have accepted Elchibey's offer to transfer some of his powers.

Aliyev responds by asking: If Elchibey relinquished most of his powers and was willing to give up his jurisdiction over foreign affairs, what would his status be?

Gasymov contends that Elchibey would still have retained some power, which would not have seriously interfered with Aliyev's work in Baku. He contends that it would have maintained the legal structure in the republic.

Aliyev asks what prestige there would have been for Elchibey if he had restricted powers and stated that if Elchibey was going to sit in Keleki and keep the right to sign decrees, it would be impossible to debate issues and carry out the state's work. He argues that the republic is in turmoil and it is not vital who signs decrees. Aliyev says the international community should not interfere in Azerbaijan's internal affairs. "If Azerbaijan's independence is going to be recognized with Elchibey in Keleki, then we wouldn't need such an international community." The deputies applaud.

Deputy Galib Kurbanov praises Guseynov and calls on deputies to vote for him.

Supreme Court Chairman Deputy Tahir Kerimov says that while he may have described Aliyev as "the whale of the political world," today he opposes his coming to power. He says he received his jurisdiction unconstitutionally and cannot be proposed as a candidate for the premier's job. He continues to criticize Aliyev, calling him the tool of Russian imperialism. Deputies are heard trying to silence him, but Aliyev asks him to continue.

Later, Aliyev says that with his decree signed in Nakhichevan, Elchibey gave him authority, including the right to appoint the prime minister. Aliyev ridicules Kerimov's criticism and accuses him of paving the way for illegal activities by sanctioning rallies. Aliyev orders him: "Work or resign."

Addressing the deputies, Aliyev says: "I ask you to seek ways out of the situation. Elchibey is the popularly elected president of Azerbaijan. I still respect him, but you should not use the name of Abulfaz Elchibey, who pushed us into these grave days, to advance your personal interests."

Aliyev then calls a vote by asking: "Who is in favor of appointing Surat Guseynov prime minister of the Azerbaijani Republic?"

The motion is carried with 35 in favor, one vote against, and one abstention.

Aliyev declares Surat Guseynov the prime minister of Azerbaijan and invites him to address the session.

Guseynov thanks the gathering for their trust and calls for strengthening the statehood, safeguarding citizens' legal and religious rights, "strengthening ties within the framework of international norms with all the near and far countries that respect Azerbaijan's independence, and holding high Azerbaijan's interests in economic, political, and military [word indistinct]." He says he will do everything to fulfill "these sacred duties."

Aliyev proposes putting the Defense, Security, and Interior Ministries under the Council of Ministers to strengthen Azerbaijan's defensive forces, secure its security, recover the occupied lands, and make use of Surat Guseynov's experience in this direction.

The motion is carried by 34 votes to two.

Aliyev submits a motion relieving Ikhtiyar Shirinov as prosecutor general of Azerbaijan.

The motion is carried by 32 to two.

The head of the commission investigating the Ganja incidents then reads out the commission's report before the session concludes at 0926 GMT.

Elchibey Denounces Guseynov's Appointment as Premier

LD3006195693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1946 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 30 TASS—Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey, who still remains in the mountainous village of Keleki of the Ordubad region of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, has reacted negatively to the appointment of Surat Guseynov the Azeri prime minister, one of Elchibey's aides told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Wednesday [30 June].

The aide said that the president was not going to make any official statements to this effect yet. However, Elchibey declared that he considers the latest resolution passed by the Azeri Parliament "unconstitutional".

One of the influential leaders of the opposition, Chairman of the Party of National Independence Etibar Mamedov, who, until recently, had been considered a real candidate to the post of the prime minister, refrained from making any comments as well. He merely noted that the acting president had the right to nominate a candidate to the post of the prime minister and he had used this right. Mamedov has dismissed rumours of being offered the post of the Azeri secretary of state as absolutely groundless.

Mamedov 'Disillusioned' With New Government

NC0107122693 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1140 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, 01.07.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—I was again disillusioned with the new Government of Azerbaijan said opposition leader head of the Azerbaijan National Independence Party (ANIP) Etibar Mamedov in the exclusive interview to ASSA-IRADA. It is not the first time we've made the government resign expecting that it would be replaced by democratic and legitimate one. But the present authorities in my opinion do not meet these requirements. If I took the post of the prime minister proposed both by Abulfaz Elchibey and H. Aliyev I would be holding this office only for the transition period till the parliamentary election stressed Etibar Mamedov. In a few day the ANIP will make an official declaration concerning the situation in the republic.

Government Warns UN of Retaliation Against Armenia

LD3006165293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1618 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations, 30 Jun—Azerbaijan has informed the UN Security Council about possible retaliatory measures against Armenia in the light of its occupation of the town of Agdere and of 20 Azerbaijani villages, "many of which had been burnt and destroyed." This is stated in today's declaration by the Azerbaijan Foreign Affairs Ministry, released at the UN headquarters as a Security Council document.

"On 28 June, states the document, after severe fighting with the use of combat planes, tanks, and artillery, Armenian subunits occupied the town of Agdere and villages surrounding it...thousands of civilians are fleeing from the conflict area." The document also states that such actions by the Armenian leadership "push Azerbaijan to take appropriate measures, as a result of which the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict will be postponed for an indefinite time."

Armenian Troops in 'Dangerous Proximity' in Agdere

NC0107123793 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1140 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, 1 Jul (ASSA-IRADA)—Armenian troops are collecting power for attacks of Geranboy [Shaumyanovskiy] and Terterskiy districts of Azerbaijan a great deal weapons and soldiers of Armenian Armed Forces are collected today on the mountain Kechaldag which has strategically important location ASSA-IRADA was informed by Aga Akperov the chief of Geranboy district executive power. Serious preparations for repulse of Armenian Army attack are conducted at Terterskiy district ASSA-IRADA was informed by Fakhraddin

Abbasov the deputy chief of executive power. Armenian troops are now in dangerous proximity—in Agdere [Mardakertskiy] district where they have already occupied the district center, more than ten villages and the main mountain heights.

Russia Facilitates Cease-Fire in Mardakert, Agdam

LD3006174093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The military leadership of Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh have reached an agreement on the cessation of offensive operations and aerial bombardments in the vicinity of Mardakert and Agdam; fierce fighting took place there yesterday. This decision resulted from talks facilitated by the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Reduced Hostilities Reported

LD0107113093 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] With Russian Foreign Ministry mediation, the commands of the Azerbaijani Army and the Armenian self-defense forces in Nagorno-Karabakh concluded a provisional agreement the other day to cease hostilities and the shelling and bombardment of the regions of the towns of Mardakert and Agdam where fierce fighting had been going on the day before, the Russian Foreign Ministry's information department has reported. The agreement is holding, and intense hostilities have been noticeably reduced, the military commands of the sides report.

Iranian Envoy Discusses Guseynov, Elchibey, Relations

NC2906172593 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 20 Jun 93 p 3

[Telephone interview with 'Ali Akbar Nahavandian, Iranian ambassador to Azerbaijan, by unidentified correspondent in Baku "after Elchibey's flight to Ordubad"—date not given]

[Excerpts] [RESALAT] Mr. Nahavandian, how do you assess the current situation in Azerbaijan?

[Nahavandian] In 1371 [year beginning 21 March 1992] following Azerbaijan's military defeat in Agdere, Surat Guseynov, who had been appointed as the commander of the first brigade and was awarded the rank and title of a national hero, was removed and dismissed immediately. [passage omitted]

When Surat Guseynov came to Ganja following the fall of Kelbadzhar, it was natural that this would cause some tension in the country. On 4 June the government forces,

who had become complacent about the exodus of Russian forces, devised a calculated program for disarming Surat Guseynov and his associates. Therefore, they attacked Ganja. Apparently Guseynov was informed of this attack by an emissary from Elchibey and was able to halt the attack and capture some soldiers. As a result of this clash, the Ganja airport was destroyed; nearly 69 people were killed and 200 were wounded.

[RESALAT] Mr. Nahavandian, who is Surat Guseynov? What is his way of thinking? What are his leanings and with which group is he affiliated?

[Nahavandian] Surat Guseynov is a young man, 33, and has worked in the field of industrial management. He was a volunteer for procuring arms for the war against Armenia and is a familiar figure in the region. When he was awarded recognition by the president as a national hero, naturally his popularity and influence increased. The two-month period between the fall of Kelbadzhar and the attack on Ganja can be considered a peaceful lull as on 1 June, [Minister of Islamic Culture and Guidance 'Ali] Larijani arrived at the head of a delegation from Iran for a visit to Azerbaijan. He travelled to Ganja and two Azerbaijani ministers Sabir Rustamkhanly, the publications minister, and Polad ogly Byul-Byul, the culture minister, accompanied the delegation for the inauguration of a book festival and an Iranian handicrafts exhibition. We remained out in the open, in the center of the city of Ganja for one hour without any kind of guard. It was the day of 'Id al-Adha and the city was quite peaceful. This indicates that if this provocation had not been committed the Ganja problem would not have occurred.

On 7 June, Ganja would not have fallen and this uprising would not have spread to other cities in Azerbaijan. At present, cities such as Lenkoran in the south, Mingechaur and Sumakhli in the south and all other cities are under Elchibey's control. [passage omitted]

Of course, the events of the past few days in Azerbaijan have generated much anxiety, as many foreigners have fled from Baku including diplomats and representatives from companies. However, the diplomatic and training staff of Iran has stayed here. In fact, I was due to go on annual leave. I canceled my leave and returned to Baku. This was a source of amazement to all that the employees of Iran perform their duties under all circumstances.

[RESALAT] Can you confirm the report that Geydar Aliyev was in contact with Surat Guseynov and the insurgents?

[Nahavandian] In his speech to parliament, he said that he did not know Guseynov and that he had never seen him before his visit to Ganja. What is definite is that after the incident, he was in daily contact with him in order to halt or prevent military clashes. Three nights ago, some government forces went to a place near Baku called Navai where a violent clash took place. On 17 June, Geydar Aliyev along with the president and Etibar Mamedov, who is one of the leaders of the opposition,

participated in a session for resolving the problem. Everyone expected Mamedov to be appointed prime minister. However, after this session the President, who was supposed to convene another session with the [Azerbaijani] People's Front [PFA] leaders, went to the airport and left Baku for an unknown destination.

[RESALAT] Mr. Nahavandian, do you know the whereabouts and the fate of President Elchibey?

[Nahavandian] On 17 June, I had a meeting with Aliyev and I conveyed the congratulations on behalf of Majles Speaker 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri and our Foreign Minister Dr. Velayati to him on his appointment as speaker of the Azerbaijani parliament. During that meeting, he was very concerned about the situation and at the same time he was optimistic that the Muslim people of Azerbaijan would soon put these difficult days behind them with unity and solidarity. He had witnessed Iran's assistance at close quarters in Nakhichevan and he said openly: Our hopes are pinned on our Muslim Iranian brothers and sisters for assistance in resolving our problems. He expressed the hope that all the people would live in peace and security.

In any case on that day, that is 17 June, the president announced the dismissal of the ministers of defense and national security, the latter's organization being the same one that functioned as the KGB earlier. This defused the sentiments of Surat Guseynov to a certain extent, as it was expected that if these key people were identified as being responsible for the Ganja events and dismissed, he would relax his demands, which included the resignation of the president. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] What is the situation in Baku now? What is the state of public opinion, and the political and press circles in Azerbaijan?

[Nahavandian] The situation is more peaceful than before as an emergency was announced after the fall of Kelbadzhar in the middle of Farvardin [21 March - 20 April]. As of 7 April, martial law had been imposed in Baku and other cities as well as a curfew at night. Naturally, two months later, especially now that martial law has been extended two months, dissatisfaction was bound to increase. However, since the Friday after the events took place, there are not many signs of martial law in the city. The police force cannot be seen in the cities and checkpoints have been dismantled. People move freely at night and there are no signs of war or tension. Perhaps this can be construed as the public's confidence in the current leadership and their sagacity in handling the situation.

[RESALAT] What role does Turkey have in the latest events in Baku, as one of the staunchest supporters of the People's Front? Ankara seems to be maintaining a patient silence. What is your appraisal of this?

[Nahavandian] Rumors are circulating in Baku that it was on the behest of Inonu that Elchibey travelled to Ordubad. I cannot vouch for the veracity of these

allegations. However, it appears that he was asked not to leave the country so that he could return to power in the future. [passage omitted] [RESALAT] What is Russia's part in these events? It is being said that the rebels are being supported by Russia and the supporters of the former communist regime.

[Nahavandian] I told you Guseynov's age and his previous occupations. He does not have any military experience, much less military cooperation with Russia. Therefore we should seek the causes of the present domestic problems in internal factors. Economic problems had plagued the people of Azerbaijan. In the past four years, the cost of living of every family in Azerbaijan has risen a thousandfold while their income has only increased by 100 percent. In the past year the cost of living rose by another 100 percent while the exchange rate has risen tenfold. For example, last year the people changed a dollar for 124 rubles, but now they exchange a dollar for 1500 rubles. Therefore, the people are looking for a savior who will deliver them from this situation. Whether this hope materializes or not is something that will only transpire in the future.

[RESALAT] How do you assess the relations between Iran and the present rulers in Baku?

Iran has constantly proven that in accordance with the Constitution it is respected by all nations and forges and expands relations with all neighboring countries, especially the Muslim countries. On the same basis it eschews interference in the internal affairs of countries. We desire cooperation with friendly and fraternal neighboring countries, especially the friend and brother country of Azerbaijan. The majority of the people of Azerbaijan are Shiite Muslims. Any blood that is shed in that country affects us deeply. In Azerbaijan, we want their national independence, territorial integrity, and the rule of the will of the people in order to decide their own destiny. We hope for the success of every person who takes over power in Azerbaijan in serving the people.

[RESALAT] What effects will the current events have on the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia?

[Nahavandian] A glance at the events in the past two years on the Azerbaijani-Armenian borders indicates that in conditions in which 10 percent of the Azerbaijani territory has been occupied by Armenia, Geydar Aliyev's presence in Nakhichevan kept Nakhichevan—which was virtually in the clutches of Armenia—relatively immune from the dangerous effects and repercussions of war. Therefore the problem of war may also hopefully be resolved in view of the immense administrative experience that Aliyev has.

[RESALAT] As my last question, what message do you have as the active ambassador of Iran in Azerbaijan for the patient Muslim people of Azerbaijan?

[Nahavandian] In my meeting with the officials, the scientific, literary, and cultural figures, artists, academicians, religious personalities, and journalists in Azerbaijan, I have reiterated that in these sensitive conditions in the newly liberated Azerbaijan, the sole means for progress is by preserving unity, fostering cooperation among groups, and refraining from sowing discord and seeking personal gain. By resorting to the Almighty's blessings, and by returning to the pure beliefs and faith in Islam, they can attain that greatness that is inherent in every Islamic country.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Asks Parliament To 'Broaden' Powers

LD3006210993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2004 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze asked the Georgian Parliament to broaden the rights of the head of state on 30 June in Tbilisi. On world issues, Shevardnadze approved the latest U.S. actions toward Iraq, as in his words, terrorism must not go unpunished no matter who might be behind it.

Presents Views on Extending Powers

LD3006203593 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1820 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] A speech of Parliament Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze at today's session of the parliament was almost completely dedicated to the issues of further relations with the Russian Federation and extension of the head of state's duties.

Regarding the first issue, Eduard Shevardnadze said that the whole mind and power of the members of parliament should be directed toward eliminating the tension and establishing equal and good-neighborly relations with Russia. The head of state said that it should always be kept in mind that the tension is used by enemies of Georgia, both internal and outside. As for the misgivings of some members of the Georgian Parliament about the next subjugation of Georgia by Russia, Eduard Shevardnadze thinks that the fears are groundless. Today, in the situation of a new world order, we are not the same as we were a year ago. Today, a different language is used when talking to us. Therefore, no one will dare subjugate Georgia if we do not bring ourselves to the brink. Therefore, we must act more courageously in relations with Russia, Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Recently, much has been said in the parliament about the extension of the Georgian head of state's duties. Today, Eduard Shevardnadze presented his own deliberations on this subject. He said that:

1. In extraordinary circumstances, with the parliament's consent, the head of state should have the right to issue legislative acts concerning certain economic changes.

2. According to a decree of the head of state, in case of failure to implement parliament's resolutions, certain officials can be relieved of their offices. Vacancies should also be filled according to the head of state's decree, except for officials approved by the parliament.

3. A draft resolution on introducing changes in the law on the security council should be presented by the head of state.

4. The whole monetary activity of the state should be controlled by an economic council of the parliament chaired by the head of state.

5. In connection with a suggestion to have the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia reorganized, Eduard Shevardnadze acknowledged the possibility of holding extraordinary meetings of the Council of Ministers chaired by the head of state.

All these proposals are scheduled to be discussed by the parliament.

Parliament Discusses Signing Abkhaz Treaty

LD3006205793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1911 GMT 30 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi June 30 TASS—The Georgian parliament continued discussing the proposals of chairman of the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia Tamaz Nadareishvili on the necessity of the urgent signature of the treaty with Russia. Deputies decided to continue discussions on Thursday. All parliamentarians are expected to speak on this issue. Their opinions are different. Some deputies support the normalization of relations with Russia, other are afraid that the treaty with Russia can be one-sided for Georgia.

Head of the Georgian state Eduard Shevardnadze abstains from expressing his position on this problem. However, he said that he did not estimate treaties and agreements as one-sided or humiliating for the republic.

Georgia have already concluded treaties of interstate relations with all neighbours, with the exception of Russia.

Abkhaz Minister Nadareishvili Warns of Sukhumi Offensive

MK3006112093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 3

[Guga Lolishvili report: "Tamaz Nadareishvili Warns of Offensive on Sukhumi Involving Russian Paratroopers"]

[Excerpt] Tamaz Nadareishvili, Abkhazian Council of Ministers chairman, arrived in Tbilisi yesterday

morning. He addressed a session of the Georgian parliament discussing the situation in Abkhazia. Nadareishvili gave an exclusive interview to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. He said that the Abkhazian side is preparing an offensive on Sukhumi to be launched in the next two to three days, and that according to Georgian intelligence reports, the offensive was initially planned for 20 June, but later was put off until 26 June. Such deferrals, he said, are the result of disagreements between the leaders of the Gudauta group and commanders of the Russian paratroopers deployed in Abkhazia. According to Tamaz Nadareishvili, the Russian paratroopers are to take part in the upcoming offensive. Nadareishvili claimed that the Abkhazian side is concentrating combat power and equipment in the Gumista area and that 90 Russian paratroopers, who did not leave Abkhazia after demobilization but signed contracts with the Abkhazians, had already been moved there. In addition, a group of mercenaries from the Dniester Region and a Cossack unit are also stationed there. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze To Visit Turkey 9-10 Jul

LD3006134993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaide met Turkish Ambassador to Georgia Timocin Arbak at the latter's request.

They discussed the final details of the forthcoming visit by Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state and parliament chairman, to Turkey. The visit is planned for 9-10 July.

We have prepared about 10 bilateral agreements for signing at the summit meeting, including a political declaration; an agreement on cooperation between our parliaments and councils; an agreement on tourism, agriculture, and all kinds of transport. This will be an appendix to the agreements signed by Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel during his visit to Georgia, the foreign minister said.

Turkey is getting ready for the meritorious reception of Eduard Shevardnadze, the ambassador said at the end of the conversation.

Cabinet Issues Decree on State Currency Fund

AU3006131293 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 16 Jun 93 p 2

["Decree of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers on the Formation of a Republic of Georgia State Currency Fund" issued in Tbilisi on 10 June]

[Text] In order to ensure the covering and servicing of the state foreign debt of the Republic of Georgia, the financing of other measures of state importance, and also the attraction of centralized currency funds aimed at stabilizing the exchange rate of the national currency, the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers decrees:

1. To create a Republic of Georgia State Currency Fund attached to the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, into whose income revenue received in foreign currency, loans, foreign currency acquired through funds from the Republic of Georgia republican budget, and other revenues are to be transferred in accordance with existing tax legislation.

The State Currency Fund is a component of the republican budget and its funds are used to cover and service the republic's state foreign debt and finance purposive and other measures provided for by the republican budget.

2. To establish, from 15 June 1993, from the proceeds received from the sale of goods, works, and services by all enterprises located on the territory of the republic irrespective of their ownership and organizational and legal form, a single rate for the compulsory sale of all types of foreign currency to the Republic of Georgia State Currency Fund amounting to 20 percent, on the basis of supply and demand, according to the rate of exchange of the Georgian national currency against foreign currency on the currency market at the moment of settlement, which is established by the Republic of Georgia National Bank.

The compulsory purchase rate with regard to foreign currency earnings received from services provided by rail, sea, air, and road transportation and intermediary trade and banking operations for freight insurance and shipping service and services in the sphere of tourism and culture is to be applied during the implementation of services in foreign currency with regard to sums of currency earnings in excess of expenditure.

3. Two percent of the currency earnings of enterprises will be sold to the currency funds of the autonomous republics and town and rayon local administrative bodies.

4. In order to stabilize the national currency exchange rate and form a domestic currency market, to establish, from 15 June 1993, from the currency earnings of all enterprises, a compulsory rate of sale to the Republic of Georgia National Bank amounting to 10 percent in accordance with the exchange rate established by the Republic of Georgia National Bank. These funds can only be used to stabilize the currency rate of exchange and form a domestic currency market.

5. The following earnings in foreign currency are not liable for compulsory selling from non-residents:

—earnings in the form of contributions to authorized capital (fund) and also revenues (dividends) received for participation in capital;

—revenues from the sale of securities and also revenues (dividends) from securities;

—earnings in the form of attracted credits (deposits and investments) and also sums received to cover sold credits (deposits and investments) including computed interest;

—charitable donations.

6. The part of the earnings that remains after compulsory selling are to be used to form currency funds in enterprises. The assets of enterprise currency funds may be used for any activity that is not prohibited under existing legislation.

7. The earnings in foreign currency from the sale of goods (works and services) are to be transferred to the currency accounts of enterprises held in banks (henceforth "authorized banks") operating on the territory of the Republic of Georgia that have received a permit (license) from the Georgian National Bank to carry out currency operations.

Juridical persons who, at the time of the adoption of this decree, have currency funds in foreign accounts are obliged to transfer them to their accounts in authorized banks operating on the territory of the republic within one month of the adoption of the decree. Funds that are not transferred to authorized banks within the established period of time are to be declared as belonging to the Republic of Georgia and will be transferred to the republic's State Currency Fund.

It is possible to open an account abroad on the basis of permission from the National Bank and the Ministry of Finances.

The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice and the Republic of Georgia Committee for Foreign Economic Relations are to elaborate a proposal aimed at ensuring the withdrawal of currency funds in the foreign accounts of enterprises and their transfer to the republic's State Currency Fund.

8. Enterprises exporting goods (works, services) are obliged to show in the customs declaration the requisites and full name of the authorized bank through which settlements with foreign partners are conducted and also the date on which the foreign income was received.

In order to control compulsory purchase, the Republic of Georgia Customs Committee is to produce a regular (once a month) customs declaration register in the customs declaration to these authorized banks and the Republic of Georgia National Bank on whose basis export freight is to be sent abroad.

9. To recommend that the Republic of Georgia National Bank, in coordination with the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Finances and the Republic of Georgia Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, elaborates and implements before 20 June 1993 a statute on the compulsory sale of a part of the foreign currency earnings of enterprises and a statute on the responsibility of authorized banks for recording the republic's state currency funds.

10. In the event of the violation of the rules provided for in this decree and also in acts of the Republic of Georgia National Bank by juridical persons and banking or other financial institutions, the Republic of Georgia National Bank and the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Finances can take the following measures against them in accordance with the established procedure:

—take away their permit (license) to conduct currency operations;

—force the enterprises to pay the debts owing to the corresponding currency funds or the sum of earnings that have not been recorded and a fine in accordance with the established rules.

11. The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice is to submit a draft law on the criminal and administrative responsibility of those officials and citizens who violate the norms of currency regulation.

12. The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Finances is to provide funds to the Republic of Georgia republican budget in order to buy currency for the Republic of Georgia State Currency Fund.

13. In connection with the adoption of this decree, to consider as null and void the Republic of Georgia Decree No. 536 of 4 May 1992 "on the Provisional Rules for the Formation of Currency Funds in the Republic of Georgia."

14. To create a currency control commission attached to the Cabinet of Ministers to ensure control over the expenditure of the assets of the currency fund.

15. To entrust the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Finances to submit a draft statute on the currency control commission within two weeks.

16. The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Finances together with the Republic of Georgia National Bank, in connection with the adoption of this decree, are to bring into line the rules for the compulsory transfer of foreign currency to the currency fund.

17. The decree comes into force from 1 July 1993.

[Signed] T. Sigua, prime minister of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] Tbilisi, 10 June 1993

Estonia

U.S. Embassy Expresses 'Concern' Over Alien Law

WS0107113493 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0936 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Thursday, July 1—The U.S. Embassy has made a statement pointing out that some aspects of the law on aliens give reason for concern. The embassy statement did not elaborate on particular aspects of the law. The embassy supports the decision of President Lennart Meri to submit the law to the CE [Council of Europe] and CSCE for evaluation. The U.S. are to express their views at the CSCE session concerning the law, the statement announced.

Russia Restores 'Normal' Gas Supplies

WS3006073693 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1742 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 29—Russia has restored the natural gas supplies to Estonia to its normal state, the director of "Eesti Gaas" Aarne Saar told ETA on Tuesday [29 June].

On Friday the Russian state gas company "Gazprom" refused to supply Estonia with natural gas, the reason being Estonia's 80 million kroons debt for gas already received.

According to Saar, in the course of negotiations with "Gazprom" an agreement was concluded, according to which the debt will be paid in two halves, the first payment being made on July 10, the second on August 1.

"Eesti Gaas" does not have the sum of 80 million kroons, but a government loan has been under discussion, the conditions of which are not yet clear.

Estonia gets about 400,000 cubic metres of gas daily, which covers the needs in summer, said Saar. All people and industrial consumers who have paid for gas, are provided with it again.

Financial Reasons Viewed

PM0107090393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 1

[Nikolay Volynskiy report: "Gas to Estonia Cut Off"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—The law on foreigners adopted by the Estonian parliament has coincided with the suspension of gas supplies.

This is in no way linked with recent political events and was planned in advance, P. Rodionov, general director of "Lentransgaz," said. Estonian enterprises have not paid for gas for over two months now and owe Russia around 11 million German marks. The contract between "Lentransgaz" and the "Eesti Gaaz" gas joint-stock company envisages penalties for nonpayments. A. Saar,

general director of "Eesti Gaaz," told Rodionov that Estonia is about to receive credits from Japan and will use this money to settle up with Russia.

According to Rodionov, "Lentransgaz" could not have adopted any penalties against Estonia on political grounds since it owns 36 percent of the shares in "Eesti Gaaz." Although, were such a directive to come from the Russian Government, it would of course be carried out. He also added that Estonia is not the only debtor. Latvia owes \$3 million. Lithuania owes \$40 million and since 26 May gas shipments to Lithuania have been restricted on three occasions. The director was also extremely critical of Estonian Prime Minister M. Laar's statement cited in the local press that the republic has, allegedly, already reoriented its economy toward the West. "That is impossible in terms of gas shipments," Rodionov said. "The entire infrastructure was developed during the Soviet era and it would cost a tremendous amount of money to create a new one, money that Estonia does not have."

Well, it may be a good thing that President B. Yeltsin's warning about the law on foreigners has not taken the form of more determined actions.

However, those who predicted that Boris Nikolayevich's "hard" words to the Estonian authorities would have no consequences at all were evidently right. By the way, there are already over 11,000 people on Estonian territory—in addition to the "people without citizenship"—who have taken Russian citizenship. The new law poses a direct threat to them.

Velliste Says Ties With Russia 'Satisfactory'

LD3006131493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste has returned from Copenhagen. [passage omitted]

Trivimi Velliste commented today on the Estonian leadership's behavior in the current crisis involving Estonian-Russian relations.

[Begin Velliste recording] On this occasion, the Estonian political leadership has been very reserved, and that was consciously and deliberately so. I do not think an immediate reaction has to follow every statement. But as far as explaining the matter to the world is concerned, we have been doing this all along. True, we could have presented the law on foreigners a little bit more in advance. That is true. Naturally, we will be discussing the situation as soon as possible, but I think the current Estonian situation is relatively satisfactory. We have no reason for undue anxiety at present. [end recording]

Border Guard Director on Submarine Sighting

WS0107083793 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1609 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 30—Estonian Border Guard Director General Tarmo Kouts rejected the claims of a

citizen of foreign submarines observed in Estonian coastal waters. Modern submarines cannot navigate in the bay in question since it is only nine meters deep, he stressed.

A newspaper published the article on Wednesday, June 30, quoting a man who claimed to have seen at least two submarines near the northern Estonian coast. Estonia has no navy at present.

Latvia

Russian Commander Sends Protest to Gorbunovs

LD2506190793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1700 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Colonel-General Leonid Mayorov, commander in chief of the Northwestern Group of Forces, sent Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs a letter yesterday stating that the Latvian side is violating the intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Latvia on the arrangements for military personnel of the Russian Army and their family members crossing the border.

In the letter Mayorov points out that the leadership of the Northwestern Group of Forces does not understand the action taken by the Bureau for Monitoring the Withdrawal of the Russian Federation Army, the Ministry of Defense, and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration on 18 June, when applications for entry without visas by military personnel of the Russian army and their families was curtailed.

Russia Curtails Gas Supplies Due to Debt

LD3006170593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian
2000 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Gas supplies from Russia to Latvia for everyday consumption have been curtailed, Adrians Davis, director-general of the Latvijas Gaze enterprise, has reported to the BNS news agency. Latvia has not been receiving gas for four days because a debt for gas already supplied by Russia amounts to 4.5 million dollars.

At the moment an agreement has been reached with the leadership of the Lentransgaz enterprise that the replenishment of tanks of the Incukalna gas depot with gas will not be curtailed until 6 July. Twelve million cubic meters of natural gas are supplied to this depot every day.

If the Latvijas Gaze enterprise does not pay its debt by 6 July, then gas supplies from Russia will be stopped completely. For the time being it is envisaged to use gas from stocks intended for the winter to meet consumers' needs. Davis believes that this is impermissible because in that case Latvia can be left without gas and heating when the winter comes. Davis issued an order today according to which gas supply will be cut off from all the debtors, except for residents, who have not paid outstanding debts within

10 days. He pointed out that he understood the decision by Russian partners to cut off gas supplies and that there were no political reasons.

This year the Latvijas Gaze enterprise has repeatedly been warned by the Lentransgaz firm about possible curtailment of gas supply on credit.

Deputy Minister Shot; Condition 'Grave'

LD0107082593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0809
GMT 1 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga July 1 TASS—Latvian Deputy Merchant Marine Minister Gunar Steinerts was wounded with three shots near his home on June 30 when he entered his office car. The attacker was armed with a home-made weapon.

Police works on several versions without precluding a revenge for personal reasons. Doctors who extricated the three bullets, reported that the deputy minister's state was grave.

Lithuania

Slezevicius on Reaction to Russia Cutting Gas Supply

WS3006130193 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in
English 1056 GMT 30 Jun 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 276: "Gas for Lithuania Cut Off"]

[Text] 30 June 1993—How does the Government react to this fact? The Premier Minister A. Slezevicius answered this ELTA's question as follows: "The news is unpleasant but not unexpected. This government and I personally as the head of it failed to solve questions of payment for natural gas to the Russian suppliers for this puzzling issue had been planned more than a year ago. The users of the gas were paying less for it than the procurement prices required since the April of the last year. When in July of the last, Russia asked to pay in world prices, the government had no clear policy towards the issue. They were telling that they would discuss, negotiate, while the debt was constantly increasing and as the Director General of the state gas company 'Lietuvos Dujos' Mr Zenonas Vistinis states it reach 40 million US dollars by the New Year, and several million added to the debt this year. Within the first days of my appointment to this position, I visited Saint Petersburg and had a meeting with Russia's Premier Minister Victor Chernomyrdin and chiefs of the concern 'Lentransgas' and I had no other choice, but to agree with the fact and to promise to pay all the debts. Firstly we undertook drastic measures by cutting gas supply to the companies with biggest debts. We had 40 such cases to my knowledge. Unfortunately this could not solve all the problems for while the retail prices are lower this does not apply to gas prices. The energy sector management had problems and mere appointment of new staff cannot

immediately remove the issue—we must agree on that. On the other hand, how can the Government cover old debts having such budget had to simultaneously give financial support to agriculture as season started, to social support and to undertake measures to stop the inflation. We hear criticisms: Why Lithuania and namely its government does not charge Russia and Belarus for the electricity and it transit. There have been such demands and we had received promises from the other side. However, the Belarusian Premier Minister promised to pay part of the debts this month and he did not keep his word. We still have not signed the free trade agreement with Russia although we strive for that. And that has negative effect on our economy. But those who perceive the internal political uncertainty in of Russia, will understand that forehead is a bad thing to break through the wall with especially when you owe much. But I want to say that we are working on measures to solve the problem by negotiating with heads of those countries. Part of the debt will be covered with the credit of 15 million dollars given from the World Bank for special purposes, the other part will be covered from the debts of Russia and Belarus and perhaps from other sources as well. The reserve of natural gas will last until middle of July. Let's hope that we will overcome this problem by that time and will create a new order in the institutions on whose organizational structure the solution of these issues depends. At the same time we are using an unpopular measure: rising prices of gas for users from July. And the Government will compensate a part of the population's costs as heating season kicks off."

Foreign Minister Reports to Seimas Session

LD0107110693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in
Lithuanian 0900 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Report by correspondent Algirdas Usas]

[Excerpt] At the morning session of the Seimas, Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys reported on the work of his

ministry. Basically, he assessed foreign policy in a positive way. Relations with the neighbor countries are improving, tension with the east is declining. Lithuania has been admitted to the Council of Europe, an active part is being taken in the Nordic Council, the mission at the United Nations is working well, and many international agreements are being draw up. We are advancing in foreign policy, although the process has not yet reached the age of maturity, Povilas Gylys reported.

The Seimas members expressed criticism during their questions. Povilas Gylys denied that compensation for damages will be demanded from Russia and at the same time confirmed that compensation will be sought from Germany. This will be reflected in a separate agreement with Germany. The minister denied that the unity of the Baltic states has been split. Relations are good, united joint statements are being made in international organizations. The Foreign Ministry is analysing Estonian-Russian relations and will make a statement, but it is important that this assistance is not made for effect only.

As far as the recall of Stasys Lozoraitis is concerned, this was not done well technically but the decision was made by the former Supreme Council. Algirdas Saudargas commented that it was decided only to double his duties. Politicians have the right to interpret, the foreign minister commented.

Povilas Gylys replied to a question about reports in the press concerning Deputy Foreign Minister Papirtis. "I am examining this issue and we will solve it in accordance with the principles of law and ethics," he said. Povilas Gylys urged the Seimas to obtain information about which Seimas members who are former deputies of the Supreme Council have obtained interest-free loans.

There were many pointed questions, but the minister did not become confused. This part of the session was attended by President Algirdas Brazauskas. [passage omitted]